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Under a Federal grant (Title 1, Higher Education Act of 1965), an urban planning conference was held at UCLA on June 24, 1967, by the University of California Extension, Los Angeles. The conference was planned as part of a nine campus study on various aspects of urban problems. Participants were key Los Angeles County decision makers (including representatives of citizen groups, business, industry, elected and appointed government officials, and the academic community) who are involved constantly in urban planning problems. The focus was on identifying critical problems and possible solutions in intergovernmental decision making. Proceedings consisted of eleven papers and speeches, a panel discussion, reactions of the round tables to key questions, and the summary and response to these reactions. (ly)

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URBAN PLANNING

who makes decisions in our metropolis?

JUNE 24, 1967

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
EXTENSION, LOS ANGELES

AC002620

Conference Report

URBAN PLANNING:
WHO MAKES DECISIONS IN OUR METROPOLIS?

June 24, 1967

University of California Extension, Los Angeles

A limited number of copies are available and may be obtained from

University of California Extension, Los Angeles
Daytime Programs and Special Projects
P.O. Box 24902
Los Angeles, California 90024

FOREWARD

"Urban Planning--Who Makes Decisions in our Metropolist?" was the subject of a one-day conference held June 24, 1967 on the UCLA campus by University of California Extension, Los Angeles. Under a grant from the Federal Government (Title I, Higher Education Act of 1965), the conference was planned as part of a nine campus University of California Extension study on various aspects of urban problems.

Chancellor Franklin D. Murphy and Acting Director of Extension Leonard Freedman invited as participants key opinion makers from Los Angeles County who are involved constantly in the multitude of problems related to physical planning. The focus was upon identifying critical problems and possible solutions in the area of intergovernmental decision-making.

It was interesting to note that many of the people attending the conference - including representatives from citizen groups, business, industry, elected and appointed government officials, and the academic community - had never before met together to discuss their mutual interests and concerns in the area of urban development. Indeed, the overlap of their activities was a recurring topic in the program's consideration. The involvement and interaction of the participants was evidenced both at the luncheon round table discussions and in conversation whenever the opportunity for informal discussion was available. That this overall consideration was very much needed was indicated by the manner in which interest grew as the day progressed.

This report contains the proceedings of the day's program -- major papers, a panel discussion, the reactions of the round tables to key questions, and the summary and response to these reactions. An attempt was made to deal realistically with each of the topics, and to put information (some of it familiar to many participants) into proper and timely perspective.

The large measure of success in reaching the goal of the day was achieved through the efforts of all who were concerned with the program -- consultants, planning committee, speakers, participants and University Extension staff.

Finally, the entire day's activities were summarized and expanded by Mayor Arthur Naftalin of Minneapolis, who brought to the conference a blend of his own experience and the reflections of mayors from all over the country from a just-concluded conference of their own. Mayor Naftalin's throught-provoking observations were a fitting conclusion to a day planned to encourage further action in the coordination of urban planning.

CONFERENCE DEVELOPMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

LEONARD FREEDMAN, *Acting Director**

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Professor of Political Science**

Project Coordinator . . . . ROSALIND K. LORING,
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Foreword i

Conference Development and Administration. ii

◆

Program. 1

Plan and Purpose of the Conference

Rosalind K. Loring. 2

Anatomy for Decision-Making.

John Bollens. 3

Reality as Seen by Practitioners

City Government (Big): Edmund Edelman. 12

City Government (Small): Marjorie Spear. 20

County Government: Ray Hoover. 26

State Government: Philip Simpson 34

National Government: Donald Pollard. 41

What Do We Want? The Citizens Speak

Participant Round Table Discussion. 47

The Scholars' Contribution

Leonard Freedman, Moderator 56

Garrett Eckbo 57

Bonham Campbell 60

Werner Hirsch 65

Fred Case 68

The Citizens Report

Calvin Hamilton 77

Milton Brievogel. 79

The Urban Future: Chaos or Order?

Arthur Naftalin 86

Participants 99

Materials Distributed. 105

PROGRAM

MORNING SESSION – 1200 HUMANITIES BUILDING
UCLA CAMPUS

9:00 a.m. PLAN AND PURPOSE OF THE CONFERENCE

Rosalind Loring, Conference Chairman; Coordinator, Special Projects University of California Extension, Los Angeles

9:20 a.m. ANATOMY FOR DECISION MAKING

Governmental communication and decision-making vis-a-vis the physical development of metropolitan Los Angeles . . . structure and process

Speaker: John C. Bollens, Professor of Political Science, UCLA; Member, Citizens' Committee on Zoning Practices and Procedures, City of Los Angeles

10:00 a.m. REALITY AS SEEN BY PRACTITIONERS

Programs now in action . . . specific and general. Impact of varying philosophies, legislation and findings

Speakers

National Government	Donald Pollard, Region VI Director, Planning Branch, U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, San Francisco
State Government	Philip Simpson, Executive Secretary, Intergovernmental Council on Urban Growth, Sacramento
County Government	Ray Hoover, Chief, Special Services Division, Chief Administrator's Office, County of Los Angeles
City Government (Big)	Edmund Edelman, Councilman, City of Los Angeles
City Government (Small)	Marjorie Spear, Councilwoman and Vice-Mayor, City of Claremont

PROGRAM

LUNCHEON SESSION – STUDENT UNION

12:10 p.m. Luncheon

1:00 p.m. WHAT DO WE WANT? THE CITIZENS SPEAK
(Round Table Discussions)

What responsibilities and activities do we want from different levels of government? What problems should have highest priority?

AFTERNOON SESSION – 1200 HUMANITIES BUILDING

2:10 p.m. THE SCHOLARS' CONTRIBUTION

Utilizing campus resources via research and critique. Commentary and recommendations on alternatives by the researchers

Moderator: Leonard Freedman, Acting Director, University of California Extension, Los Angeles

Speakers: Bonham Campbell, Coordinating Professor, Engineering Executive Program, and Associate Professor of Engineering, UCLA

Fred Case, Acting Director, Real Estate Research Project, and Professor of Urban Land Economics, UCLA

Garrett Eckbo, Professor of Landscape Architecture, University of California, Berkeley

Werner Hirsch, Director, Institute of Government and Public Affairs, and Professor of Economics, UCLA

3:10 p.m. THE CITIZENS REPORT

Reactions and recommendations of discussion groups

Summarizers:

Calvin Hamilton, Director, Department of City Planning, City of Los Angeles; Lecturer in Architecture and Urban Planning, UCLA

Milton Breivogel, Director of Planning, Planning Commission, County of Los Angeles

3:30 p.m. THE URBAN FUTURE: CHAOS OR ORDER?

Emerging trends in decision-making . . . patterns for practitioner, citizen and scholar

Introduction: Paul H. Sheats, Dean, University of California Extension

Speaker: Arthur Naftalin, Mayor, City of Minneapolis

PLAN AND PURPOSE OF THE CONFERENCE

Chairman: Mrs. Rosalind Loring

We welcome you to the UCLA campus. On behalf of Dr. Murphy, our chancellor, who regrets that he has conflicting plans and so cannot be here today, and of University Extension, I welcome you. Those of you who are new to our campus and new to University Extension may want to know that Extension is the arm of the University which tries to extend the resources of the University to the community. This conference is one such effort, part of our continuing, ongoing educational program for adults. The academic disciplines covered in the total program of Extension range very widely – from architecture to zoology – and of course, as with today's content, include issues of public concern.

We hope this one-day program will contribute to our knowledge and understanding about a basic, variegated and growing problem in our metropolitan area. That is, in the face of enormous growth, can we achieve community goals through more orderly and efficient organization of governmental patterns? The focus will be upon those issues which relate especially to the planning of physical facilities within the metropolitan area.

The conference has been made possible through a grant from Title I of the Higher Education Act. With the wealth of knowledge and expertise which exists in various campus departments as well as in the community, this topic is apparently timely not only locally but also nationally.

We are quite aware of the number of people and organizations in the community who are already involved in this crucial area. You in the audience represent those people and those organizations, governmental, community and private, most deeply involved – that is why you were invited. Also, we are aware that you bring with you to this conference much knowledge, skill and experience; and we hope to tap your views as well as the views of the speakers. Time has been allocated after lunch for you to tell us your priorities and your major concerns vis-a-vis urban planning in the Los Angeles Area. As today's conference was planned, we tried to consider your past activities and your special organizations; the number of conferences, workshops, programs which we know go on continuously regarding the subject of government planning.

In considering the interests of governmental agencies, community organizations and businesses, the attempt has been made to explore an area perhaps not considered as frequently or deeply as some others. So, deliberately, our attention will be concentrated on a very narrow aspect of physical planning – decision-making as a process, as a system. Most specifically, we are going to examine decision-making as it applies to those intergovernmental relations which affect physical planning.

In addition to our speakers and to your own comments, recent and relevant reading materials are available to help in providing new insight and information – materials which relate to all levels of government. Of course, they are viewpoints of the people who have written them and do present divergent views. They were selected because we felt they presented a kind of dialog in writing, as it were. One part of the rather bulky kit is the series of maps which were especially prepared for this conference. Dr. Bollens will be referring to them during his speech. You will notice if you hold them up to the light that you can see the complexity of jurisdictions within the metropolitan area and the various overlappings.

At this time we want to thank the campus authorities who assisted in the planning of the conference by defining the parameters of the question; their names are listed in the back of your program. During the afternoon panel, you will hear from all but one of these consultants.

As we consulted with each of them individually, interestingly enough each referred to the same man as being one of the most knowledgeable at UCLA about the relationships of the many levels of government and about the variety of governmental projects and their operation. And so we were truly delighted when he consented to advise us – as he did throughout the development of the conference. Dr. Bollens further consented to initiate the day's discussion. I am pleased to introduce him to you by telling you that he is currently Professor of Political

Science at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is Chairman of the Research Advisory Committee of the Youth Opportunities Board of Greater Los Angeles, and he has just recently been appointed by the mayor to the Citizens Committee on Zoning Practices and Procedures for the City of Los Angeles. Dr. Bollens is the author of numerous articles and many books, among them "Special District Governments in the United States" and "The States and the Metropolitan Problem;" and he is co-author of "California Government in Politics." Outside, you will see a copy of one of his most recent books. Dr. Bollens has been extremely active in metropolitan and urban affairs. He has served as research director for the municipality of Seattle and has directed a series of research studies for the California Legislature as well as a national study of metropolitan areas for the governor's conference. Further, he has been director of the metropolitan community studies in Dayton and consultant to the California Governor's Commission on Metropolitan Area Problems. With this broad experience, you can see why we are so pleased that Dr. Bollens is with us today.

Professor John Bollens . . . . .

ANATOMY FOR DECISION-MAKING

There are many forces and agents affecting the physical development of the Los Angeles Area. Some of them are of a public nature, for instance, a variety of local units: cities, the county, local and regional special districts, and school districts as well as the state and national governments. Others of these forces and agents are private. These include business and industrial concerns, of which developers and financial institutions are particularly important; labor unions; political parties; civic associations; private welfare groups; metropolitan and suburban newspapers; television and radio stations (which can now take editorial positions); and many other kinds of interest groups.

Although our focus here and in the following session this morning is on the governmental forces and agents, the importance of the private elements should not be ignored at this point. These private elements have varying degrees of power and influence and they seek to attain a wide range of objectives. Some of these objectives are similar or identical between groups; others are sharply contrasting and conflicting. In the process, these private elements interact and negotiate with one another and with the elected public officials and professional governmental administrators who make the formal decisions on public policies that have a major impact on the nature and direction of the physical development of this area.

This type of pattern--a series of public and private interrelationships--has always been present in the Los Angeles Area and represents a framework and an instrument for decision-making. Such a system is an essential requisite for distributing some of the benefits of metropolitan living and for eliminating problems, or at least lessening them, so that they do not reach highly critical proportions. We thus have a multicentered process of decision-making made up of both public and private elements which employ various techniques of negotiation, bargaining, maneuvering, and accommodation.

Not all of the public and private elements are participants in every deveopmental decision. Their interest and effectiveness may vary considerably, depending in part upon the substance of the matter under consideration. Their judgments may be made locally within the area, or they may emanate from corporate or governmental offices far distant from the local scene. The process of decision-making in our metropolis is therefore a complex, difficult to understand, and ever changing procedure. It has evolved organically rather than rationally.

The scatteration of private power among many elements in the metropolitan area would remain even if there were only one local government instead of hundreds, and this is a fact often overlooked by reformers. In other words, the adoption and implementation of developmental decisions by local government must run the political gamut, which involves both public and private persons and organizations. This is true whether the local governmental system of an area is structurally integrated or divided. The formal and institutional machinery of government would certainly be different if only a single local government existed in the area. But there would still be many different centers of power and decision-making in the private sectors, as well as in that single government itself.

What we have said about public and private forces in the Los Angeles Area leads to the conclusion that the state of its physical development is in important part, the result of conscious and deliberate decisions and actions by government and private organization. Many reformers are prone to believe that an unsatisfactory condition is solely the product of drift--that is, the lack of decision. Drift at times certainly has been a factor in our development but for the most part we are at our present physical state because of decisions that have been made and that are being made right or wrong through they may be.

Turning specifically to the governmental sector of the decision-making process, it is evident that over the years the pattern of local government in the Los Angeles Area has changed. It has changed from a simplistic and logical arrangement involving comparatively few units to a complicated and improvised mixture of many units and considerable territorial overlapping of a number of them. Not only have the units increased in total number but also they have grown in number of types of some types now exhibit considerable similarity of function.

Let us consider the major kinds of local government operative in this area in the early days and then look briefly at what the situation is today. County government, the territorially largest of the general purpose units, initially fulfilled two purposes. One was to aid the state government in carrying out certain of its statewide programs in local areas. The state government could have decided to operate all of these programs from the state capitol or through branch offices but instead the drafters of the original state constitution decided (as commonly had been decided elsewhere) to have a unit of government serve as this agent or aid to the state government. Thus the constitutional delegates, in the document they drafted, ordered the state legislature to create a uniform system of county government in California. In its first session the legislative complied with this constitutional mandate. To aid the state government in carrying out certain statewide programs in local areas thus was one of the two original purposes of county government. The other was to provide local services in rural and non-urbanized sections.

In the former role, that of being the agent of the state government, the county was assigned responsibilities in such fields as the administering of justice; thus the main building of most county governments is known as the county courthouse (not in Los Angeles County, however, with its very large complex of buildings.) The administering of justice, the recording of documents and vital statistics, and the conducting of elections are illustrations of assignments given to the counties in their role from the earliest days as an aid to the state government. In the second role, that of being the provider of local services in rural and non-urbanized portions, the county did such things from the start as furnishing law enforcement in its unincorporated portions.

From the beginning, therefore, the county territorially overlaid both rural and urban land, providing certain services on a countywide basis, chiefly as the agent of the state and certain other services to only rural inhabitants. Consequently, in the early era, county government was different in most functional respects from cities. Furthermore, in the few instances where the county provided the same service as cities--law enforcement is an illustration--the level of that service was quite different, usually much lower quantitatively.

Originally cities in the Los Angeles Area were regarded as the virtually exclusive supplier of urban local services other than education below the collegiate level, which from the time of statehood has been the responsibility of independent school districts. In other words, cities were the providers of such things as general fire protection, various local public works, and the like. For many years, too, practically all urban development was contained within the official boundaries of cities. They generally expanded their limits to encompass adjacent urban developments as they took place, or new cities (then still relatively few in number) were established to supply local services to the residents of recently developed urban localities. By 1900, for instance, there were only 11 city governments in operation in Los Angeles County.

School districts were part of the original local governmental system of the area. The supporters of public education in this state, as in most other states, successfully argued for schools to be independent of cities and countries so that school activities would have their own local financing and would be free of the politics of other local governments. Special districts of the non-school varieties however, were not a part of the areas of the initial local governmental system. There was no general need for them at that time. City, county, and school district governments satisfied all of the local governmental necessities and each of the three types was functionally distinct from the other two.

This original governmental pattern of the Los Angeles Area has undergone great changes. For one thing, county government has become the supplier of many urban local services in both incorporated and unincorporated sections. Particularly evident in this regard is the vast volume of contractual agreements under which the county government, for a financial consideration, provides a few or many services (a number of an urban nature) to all cities in the country. In other words, every city in this county receives at least some service under contract with the county government. This is a far different role than that originally conceived for county government. I am not arguing against this development, I am simply illustrating to you that it has occurred. As a result of this practice, some cities obtain a large package of municipal services--practically all such services in some instances--under contract from the county and through county administered districts, such as fire protection districts. This package idea was first used in 1954 when Lakewood was incorporated; it is known as the Lakewood Plan or the contract cities plan.

Another significant change in the original governmental pattern has been the great growth in the number of cities. The greater strength of the county government in the urban field and the increased number of cities both have changed the nature of the decision-making process relative to physical development in the Los Angeles Area. In part this large growth in number of cities has resulted from the spreading nature of urbanization, caused by the automobile and other technological changes. In part the numerical increase in cities has been produced by the availability of liberal incorporation laws and difficult annexation laws. Now there are 76 cities in Los Angeles County, a seven-fold expansion since 1900 and a gain of about 70 percent since 1954, the date of the inception of the Lakewood Plan. But even with the tremendous growth in the number of cities all that is urban is not within city boundaries. In other words, there are significant urban areas that are unincorporated, one of the most prominent examples being East Los Angeles. Some of these areas are cities in every way except legal fact. They receive their services not from city governments but from the regular county government, county-administered districts, and independent school and other special districts.

In the evolution of the local governmental pattern in the Los Angeles Area the number of school districts grew for some time, and often elementary and secondary levels of education were provided by separate units. School districts are important decision-making centers on various questions of physical development, for example, school site location. In recent years the number of school districts has declined, often through the consolidation of several elementary units with a high school district into a unified operation. However, the number of school districts in this area is still substantial.

A basic change in the initial governmental pattern has been the emergence of a large number of non-school special districts--really the new dark continent of American politics. Some of them are independent governmental units possessing their own governing bodies. Others are administered by the county government and encompass only a small amount of territory, in some instances less than that of a small city. Still others are countywide, metropolitan, or regional in scope. The Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, which is the wholesale supplier of water to a large number of cities and other water agencies in six southern California counties, is a regional example.

Also of mounting significance to the governance and physical development of the Los Angeles Area are the increased activities of the state and national governments. The expansion of the state activities has been manifested in a number of ways, including greater financial support of local units and direct provision of more services and facilities. In the latter category--the direct provision of more services and facilities--the most remarkable illustration is the Feather River Project, which will soon transport water from northern to southern California. Another impressive example is the state network of freeways and expressways which is to total more than 12,000 miles by 1980. Certainly state activities in water and freeway development have profound effects upon the physical development of the Los Angeles Area.

Concerning the accelerated efforts of the national government it is necessary to refer you to only two documents. One, which is in the kit of materials furnished to you, is a joint report of the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations and the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations which bears the title "Impact of Federal Urban Development Programs on Local Government Organization and Planning"; the other is the new edition of the

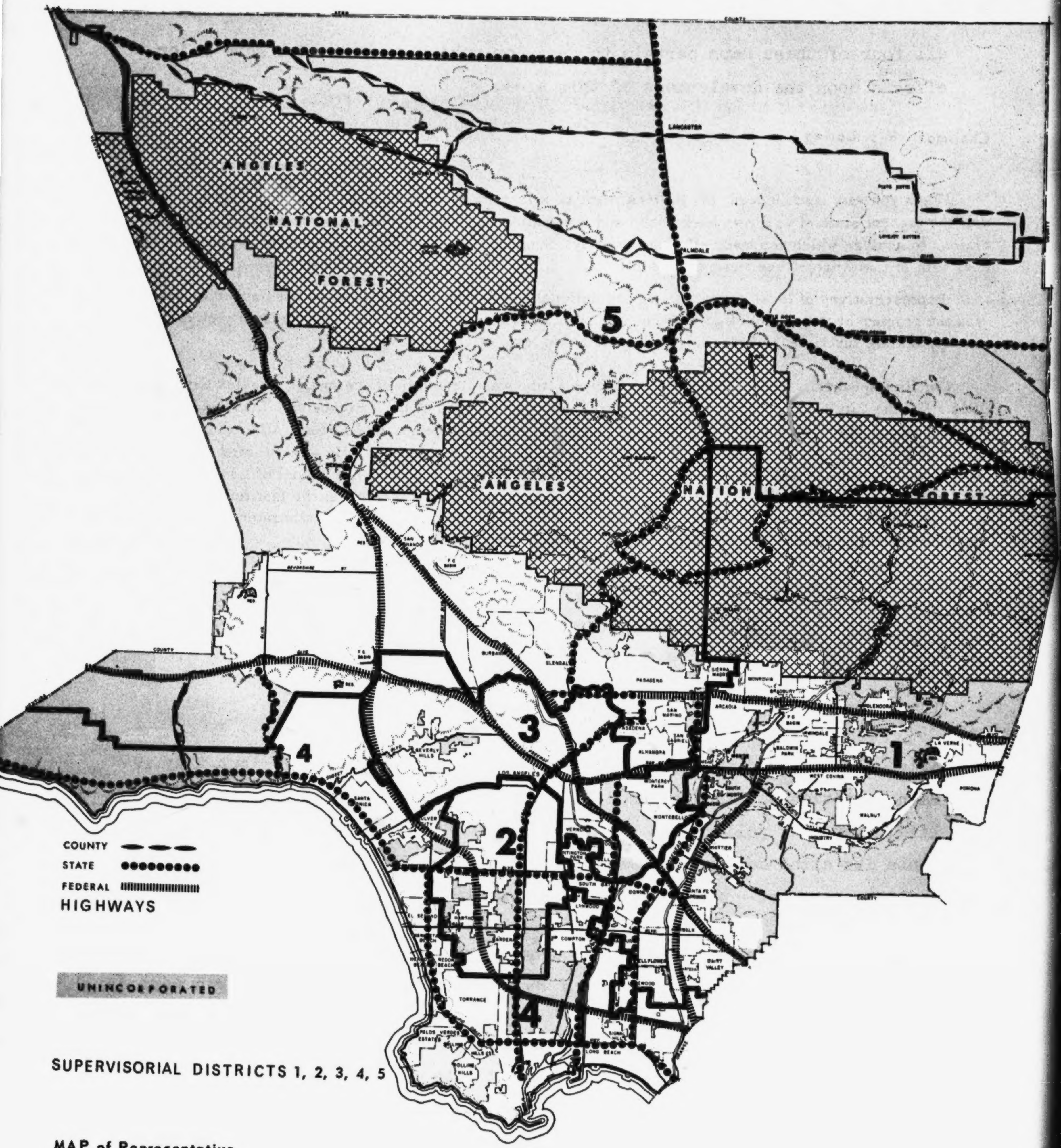
Catalog of Federal Assistance Programs which will be issued by the Office of Economic Opportunity later this summer. This 659-page publication describes 459 programs and includes 35 program indexes and, appropriately, a master index.

The increase in the number of governmental units and programs has meant an increase in the number of public decision-making centers. Such growth is not in itself detrimental to the proper physical development of the Los Angeles Area if there can be adequate intragovernmental and intergovernmental programs coordination. Of course, many kinds of programs affect physical development, although it should be remembered that the vital power of land-use control rests with cities and counties.

There is a growing amount of coordination and cooperation by agencies of the same government and among different governments. Improvement is noticeable on a number of fronts but further progress is surely needed. A few of the encouraging signs should be pointed out here. One is the national Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, a permanent bi-partisan agency established in 1959 and composed of representatives of national, state, and local governments and the public. Another is a memorandum of November, 1966, from the President of the United States to the heads of various federal agencies, directing them to afford representatives of the chief executives of state and local governments the opportunity to advise and consult in the development and execution of federal programs that affect the conduct of state and local affairs. Another is the establishment in 1963 of a public organization in California which now carries the name "Intergovernmental Council on Urban Growth," and which consists of state and local governmental officials and public representatives; Phil Simpson who is with us today is executive secretary of that council. A final example is the regional council of governments movement, exemplified locally by the Southern California Association of Governments which we, of course, like many things, immediately hammer into an acronym, SCAG. The Southern California Association of Governments is made up of member cities and counties in a six-county region. Significantly, under the Model Cities Act of 1966, beginning on July 1, of the current year, all local applications for federal assistance in support of a variety of development programs must be submitted for review to an area-wide planning agency.

The comments of the agency will be concerned with the effect of the proposed project, to be financed partly by a federal grant, on the orderly growth and development of the metropolitan area. Regional councils of government which have been designated to perform metropolitan or regional planning have been assigned this reviewing function, which is designed to improve the coordination of planning in metropolitan areas.

I would like to close by having Mr. Morris Verger project some very excellent illustrations, which he prepared, on the screen for you and you might refer to your copies as we look at them. What is immediately apparent, in the first illustration, is that the land in the coastal plain of the county is now largely incorporated. The second illustration shows five supervisorial districts which vary considerably in area but not much in population. A matter that has been coming increasingly before the state courts and even to the Supreme Court of the United States is the equitability of existing methods of apportioning representation on county boards of supervisors and commissioners. We have never had that problem in any serious proportions here in Los Angeles County. In broad terms the five local supervisorial districts adhere to the principle of population equality. These five districts encompass the entire county which contains about seven million people. You can easily judge the power and influence of the decision-making center called Board of Supervisors, each member of which has a constituency of over a million people. The third illustration is one of the highway network in the county. The long dash lines are the main county roads, the more concentrated dots the state highways, and the heavier lines the federal highways. All highway development has had profound effects on the physical shape and direction of population settlement and commercial and industrial development. The final illustration shows the proposed rapid mass transit backbone routes, small in number and in legnth but regarded by many people as a promising hope for a breakthrough in the transportation field. I imagine some you noticed that the Los Angeles City reinstated the 1-1/4 million dollar subsidy to the Southern California Rapid Transit District for current operation in the event the County Supervisors reinstate such a subsidy in their own financial commitment. In sum, then,



ANGELES NATIONAL FOREST
ANGELES NATIONAL FOREST
LANCASTER
PALMDALE
PASADENA
GLENDALE
BURBANK
BEVERLY HILLS
LOS ANGELES
SANTA MONICA
ALHAMBRA
MONTEREY PARK
MONTEBELLO
WHITTIER
WEST COVINA
POMONA
LA VERNE
MONROVIA
ARCADIA
COMPTON
LYNWOOD
TORRANCE
LONG BEACH
BELLFLOWER
REDONDO BEACH
EL SEGUNDO
PALOS VERDES ESTATES
ROLLING HILLS
1
2
3
4
4
5
COUNTY
STATE
FEDERAL
HIGHWAYS
UNINCORPORATED

SUPERVISORIAL DISTRICTS 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

MAP of Representative Planning Units for

LOS ANGELES COUNTY

all four of these maps pertain to decision-making centers that have major effects upon the development of this area.

Chairman: Mrs. Loring

Thank you very much indeed, Dr. Bollens. I think it is quite evident from the breadth of your statement that the present state of your own background and information in the field of government must be due to the decisions to analyze which you made all along the way. Surely you have made the complicated system we have to deal with in Los Angeles seem comprehensible.

Representatives of local county, state, and national governmental agencies have been asked to describe to you the program of their level of government, the purpose of their programs, and their personal viewpoint regarding the appropriate functioning of planning within their own level of government.

Our first speaker is Councilman Edmund Edelman, who was elected to office in Los Angeles City in May of 1965. For the City Council of Los Angeles, he is currently Chairman of the Revenue and Taxation Committee, Vice-Chairman of the Planning Committee, and member of the State, County and Federal Affairs Committee, He is not only politically very adept but he also has a solid academic background. He was awarded a political science degree cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa from UCLA and a degree from UCLA's School of Law in 1958. Among an extensive variety of experiences throughout his career, he has been a lecturer at the Institute of Industrial Relations at the University of California, both at Berkeley and Los Angeles, and an arbitrator in the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service list.

Councilman Edelman . . . . .

REALITY AS SEEN BY PRACTITIONERS

City Government (Big)

Thank you Mrs. Loring, Dr. Bollens, Mayor Spear, Mr. Simpson.

Aristotle observed that men join together in cities to survive, but they remain in cities to lead the good life. We want cities to provide that good life. Yet city politicians are often blamed for creating the chaos which prevents its attainment. More astute observers realize that politicians often reflect the cross-currents of a chaotic urban environment.

Today's metropolis exists within a dynamic milieu of social, economic, physical and governmental relationships whose patterns are experiencing a period of unprecendented change.

The designs which emerge from this present "chaos" will, by every indication, profoundly effect the composition of our federal system. If the American city is to rise above this turmoil, it must squarely meet the challenge of urban planning.

Today, I would like to discuss urban planning as it confronts the urban politican. I will examine four areas of urban planning involving the City of Los Angeles and the problems that we, as City Councilmen, face in approaching these matters.

Los Angeles Approaches Urban Planning

How well has the City of Los Angeles approached the planning challenge? Let me begin with a brief comment on our decision to join the Southern California Association of Governments (SCAG). Planning enjoys wide acceptance today, but I can assure you that there are still many people who think of it as something very bad.

We went through months of debate and procrastination before the City of Los Angeles joined SCAG. SCAG is a voluntary organization. It has no powers or compulsion over the City; yet, there was strong resistance to joining by people in the community, many of whom belong to some extreme right-wing groups. I recall attending one meeting of the Regional Planning Association at which anti-SCAG forces were there taping every word uttered. There are people in our City who think planners are subversive--communistic--and that all planning eminates from Moscow. I have seen booklets which support to show a direct planning command link from Chicago back to the Soviet Union. Some of this propaganda was distributed by these people when we were debating the SCAG question. The opponents also came to the City Council and taped our sessions.

It is a frightening experience!

Legitimate complaints are raised that planners have sometimes planned more with themselves that with the community involved. I am pleased with the efforts of Calvin Hamilton, our City Planning Director, to involve the entire City in urban planning. The City Council has budgeted $92,000 for the coming fiscal year to finance a goals project designed to enlarge community participation. It is unfortunate when planners talk to themselves. For, then they do not reach out to encourage dialogue with the community. I think that Calvin Hamilton's goals project is a sound idea. We should ask the community what it wants, and then set goals and direct our planning to those goals.

Community education and participation is a vital facet of the planning process. I cannot overstress the distrust that many people have for the word "planning." Perhaps they equate planning to metropolitan government which, they believe, is somehow undesirable. But unmistakeably, if we cannot plan locally for ourselves, the state and federal government will be forced to step in and plan for us. Many people do not understand this reality--the argument for joining SCAG. If we do not develop coordination ourselves, we will face the possibility of metropolitan government and the surrender of our local home rule. Clearly, there is a great need for communication between planners and members of the community.

The Problem of Special Districts

Let me turn to a second area of consideration. This year the City of Los Angeles was asked by the Southern California Rapid Transit District for a $1,250,000 subsidy. As you know, SCRTD has run its busses out of the revenue fares that they receive. Without a substantial subsidy, the district faces either a raise in fares or a cut back in service. SCRTD is a special district government; it was created under state law and operates independent of the City and County. Even though the Mayor and County Supervisors make appointments to the District, it is an independent body.

When the bus subsidy first came before Council, there were many complaints by individual Councilmen who voiced dissatisfaction over the service which the SCRTD was giving their particular areas. This, of course, is not unusual. People always want another bus line or more frequent service.

By this example, I am illustrating a function which the City has given up and turned over to a special district. When the special district then asks the City for funds, we are not equipped to give them those funds. In other words, we are wary of the Rapid Transit District and how its operations are being run.

My point is that creating special districts is not always the best way of solving area-wide problems. In a sense, special districts are removed from local governments. As such, when they seek help from local governments, local governments are not very willing to comply. Local governments do not understand the problems of special districts and do not exercise political control over them.

The subsidy request is presently a dead issue because Los Angeles County turned down a similar subsidy upon which the City's grant was conditioned.

I will not argue the merits of this particular grant because I do not believe it is the real issue involved here. What I wish to stress is that formation of special districts may not be the best answer because they are politically alienated from the local jurisdictions in which they serve.

City-Federal Cooperations

A third area, and one in which I think the City has made some progress, is our communication with the federal government in Washington, D. C.

Having worked in Washington, D. C. for two years, I can tell you that federal Housing and Urban Development administrators (and I hope I do not speak out of turn here) orient their programs to eastern cities. Boston and Pittsburg are cities that generally get the most help from Washington. Why? Because they are closer to Washington. The Presidential Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has most consultants who are from eastern universities. It was only recently that Dr. John C. Bollens of UCLA was appointed as a consultant. Washington administrators are so easternly oriented that they possibly do not really understand the west. I hope I do not sound provincial in making this statement, but I think it is an accurate assessment. Through geographical proximity, federal administrators are influenced by the eastern cities. Eastern politicians like Mayor Lindsay and Mayor Cavanaugh are regular visitors to Washington. And, I repeat: the result is that western cities are ignored.

The City of Los Angeles has lost a great amount of help in regional and urban planning by its lack of better links with Washington. Only recently the City Council authorized a position of "legislative representative"--a person to speak for the City of Los Angeles in the nation's capitol. Most large cities already have such representatives. I am glad to say that the City Council has authorized funds for this position, and we have now filled the post. (The position pays approximately $20,000 a year.)

For some time, we have maintained a representative in Sacramento. Washington representation is becoming all the more important because many new federal programs require a comprehensive regional plan before grants can be given. The open space amendments in 1965, for example, require the existence of a comprehensive regional master plan before federal monies are available to the cities. Some have criticized this policy. The federal government, however, wants to insure that they can develop a rationale for allocating that money. There has to be a plan. I think they are justified in requesting cities to exhibit some developed program to insure that federal monies will be nationally allocated. In a sense, the federal government forced Los Angeles into joining SCAG. Los Angeles had to join! We could not receive money unless we belonged to some agency capable of developing a master plan--a regional plan coordinating open space.

I think this federal requirement convinced many doubting Councilmen that City membership in SCAG was a necessity--if only a political necessity. I favored SCAG membership whether or not we would receive federal funds conditioned on joining. But federal representatives came to Los Angeles and told us that we had to join some organization (not necessarily SCAG) that would develop a comprehensive master plan. I am sorry we had to back into joining SCAG. I think we should have joined on a positive basis--on what SCAG could offer to the whole region. We know the federal government will play an increasing role in local affairs; cities cannot solve all problems themselves. The problems are great, and we will need the help of the federal government. Availability of federal funds to cities is only part of the answer. Sometimes federal monies may be disruptive to program priorities of localities. A recent report of the Los Angeles Advisory Committee on Capital Improvement Financing notes the City should consider the use of federal (and State) grant funds "WITH THE CONDITION THAT THE AVAILABILITY OF SUCH FUNDS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO UNDULY INFLUENCE THE PRIORITIES OF THE CAPITAL IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM." Urban cities must develop expanded revenue bases. But if they are to express themselves in urban decisions, they must coordinate the acceptance of outside grants. In this respect, I think the City's Washington representative will aid us.

The Cities Revenue Dilemma

Now, let me touch briefly on a fourth problem--sufficient revenue for the cities. We cannot achieve successful urban planning unless we have revenue to meet the cities current needs. This year Los Angeles faced a budget deficit of approximately $18,000,000. More sobering are figures recently developed by Dr. C. Erwin Piper, City Administrative Officer. An exhaustive study by the CAO has projected future financial needs of our City. Dr. Piper estimates by the year 1971, our needs will increase so greatly that we will face a fifty million dollar revenue gap. By 1971, we will require that much more additional revenue than we are getting from present revenue sources.

The problems of our cities require expanded services--police protection, street cleaning and street maintenance, library needs, recreation--all these are supplied by the city. Yet our tax base cannot maintain pace with the growth of city services. Growth is likely our greatest problem in the City of Los Angeles. Problems of decay, although not as great as in eastern cities, certainly do exist in Los Angeles. We know that steps must be taken to secure increased urban renewal and code enforcement. We should encourage conservation programs. For example, city inspectors might visit given areas encouraging citizens to bring their property into compliance with code standards voluntarily. But our problems are really those of growth; and unless we can broaden our tax base, we will not keep pace with the needs of our City.

One of the greatest needs now confronting the city is to find avenues of financial cooperation with the state. I know attempts are being made to persuade the federal government that it should share some of its revenue with the state. I would like to see the state share some of its revenue with the city; but realistically, I do not dare ask for too much right now. The state faces enough problems in balancing its' own budget. In the near future, however, our cities will be looking more and more to Sacramento for additional revenue.

Let me expand this statement. There is some legal doubt that cities can impose an occupation or income tax. General law cities are clearly prohibited from imposing an income, payroll or occupation tax.

An occupation tax has been suggested for the City of Los Angeles. I see some great evils if the City were to enact an occupation tax. This is an unfair tax. It hits the lower income worker the heaviest and exempts other forms of income such as that from dividends. Further, once the city goes into this area by itself, other cities will follow. The result will be a situation similar to the sales charter tax before Bradley-Burns--each day charging different rates.

We need revenue uniformity. This can be achieved through a tax capable of producing great revenue within the whole state of California and for all the cities. I have suggested state-local sharing of the income tax. This is the fairest tax for the city. Cities should locally levy the rate and allow the state to collect the tax. This plan is similar to the Bradley-Burns Sales Tax, and would be the soundest way to proceed in obtaining a good revenue base for our cities. It would be a revenue which is capable of expanding with our needs. I am glad to say that the state legislature, through Mr. Veneman, Chairman of the Assembly Revenus and Taxation Committee, is considering a resolution calling for an interim study into the revenue needs of our cities. This Committee will study the state-local income tax sharing concept. There is much work to be done in expanding local revenue structures to adequately finance city government.

Structural Coordination

I wish to close my remarks by commenting upon the question of governmental coordination. One of my greatest delights in representing the City of Los Angeles is seeing coordination among programs. Sometimes we wonder how this mammoth City operates in so many direction, yet still hangs together.

Today's program asks the question: "Who makes the decisions in our metropolis?" Realistically, I would comment that the past plays a great part in shaping these decisions. The Councilman soon realizes that individually he can effect very little structural change. The Councilman is constrained, unfortunately, by the past. But within the City of Los Angeles we have, I believe, a greater opportunity to shape our growth--more so that in eastern cities. Although eastern cities are making a great effort to eliminate decay, their problems far exceed those that are in our area. I think Los Angeles, being a new city--a city with less tradition--can more effectively cope with its future.

To cope with the future, however, we must come face to face with our structure of government. Here, perhaps, eastern cities enjoy an advantage. We have not only a proliferation of governments, but a city government which is unusual by eastern terms. With no reflection on Mayor Daley, eastern municipalities are dominated with a boss type operation. Even New York retains the remnants of Tammany Hall. Thus, if that city wants something done, it is done.

The City of Los Angeles operates with a structure of divided authority--a strong Council and weak Mayor. Also, there is very real difficulty in operating within the legal context of both our City and County structures. You are well aware of the time required to accomplish anything within our City. A divided authority structure has some virtue. It effectively slows and often stops actions which may not be in the best public interest. At the same time, however, a structure of divided authority produces a very difficult gap between the making and the implementation of decisions. Decisions take years and years and years. This may be good or bad, depending upon the people in power; but certainly it is difficult to get the quick results and the quick achievements in our City that I think eastern cities--by their machinery--are able to accomplish.

We must consider our structure as a factor when looking at the planning process in Los Angeles. I know Calvin Hamilton faces this frustration. His goals gain no instant acceptance. We must seriously ponder the fact that our political machinery is not geared to making or accomplishing quick decisions.

Having opened this discussion with the wisdom of an ancient political sage, let me close with the thoughts of a modern political pragmatist. Former Governor Edmund Brown has cogently commented that: "CALIFORNIA IS THE LAST FRONTIER. IT IS HERE OR NOWHERE, NOW OR NEVER, THAT MEN WILL STAND UP TO THE CHALLENGES OF THE CITY."

I have great confidence that this challenge will be met.

Chairman: Mrs. Loring

Thank you very much, Councilman Edelman, for your open and frank appraisal of our situation. It sounds to me very much as though the first decision area for Los Angeles to consider in relation to urban planning must be in the financial realm.

We thought it would be most appropriate in a county the size and shape of Los Angeles (you recall that Dr. Bollens showed you the maps earlier) to refer not only to the largest city in our county, but also to an example of the smaller cities. We are very pleased that Mrs. Marjorie Spear, who is Vice-Mayor of the city of Claremont, has agreed to speak to us today representing the viewpoint of the smaller-sized community.

Prior to becoming vice-mayor, Mrs. Spear had been a member of the Claremont City Council, from 1962 to 1966. A member of the Revenue and Taxation Committee of the League of California Cities since 1964, she is also a member of the executive committee of the Constitution Revision Committee and a delegate to that acronym organization (to quote Dr. Bollens), SCAG, the Southern California Association of Governments. Her academic background includes two degrees; both an early one in industrial journalism and a more recent one in government from Claremont Graduate School, in 1965. Last, but surely not least, she is a past president of the League of Women Voters both of San Diego City and of the state of California.

Mayor Spear . . . . .

City Government (Small)

I am really glad the order of presentation was changed this morning from starting with the national government and working all the way down. I had a feeling that it implied a natural regression in metropolitan decision-making that found the suburbs cowering in their dichondra, while the governmental titans made their choices. Small cities are really not that impotent; neither are they as omnipotent as the historical emphasis on home rule implies.

Unfortunately, the average citizen thinks of the members of his city council as being not only the architects of the municipal structure but the bricklayers as well. This, of course, is not the case. There is an increasingly broad spectrum of governmental decision-making which is not in local hands.

Let me first discuss with you some of the indirect, often inadvertant, decisions that are made by other agencies and play havoc with small city planning. The first would be the well-documented contribution to urban sprawl made by the federal government through its home financing programs. Orderly growth was precluded by the hopscotching of subdividers to take advantage of favorable terms. Many small cities found themselves overburdened with apartments which were at best premature in terms of both community desires and market.

State legislative decisions to grant tax exemptions to veterans, to church sponsored retirement homes, and to institutions of higher learning have altered the character and the financial capability of many communities. The state sales tax, too, is a real factor in city planning in the entire metropolis.

Assessment policies, which are set out by the state and then interpreted by the county assessor, are major determinants in land use. The developers, within the confines of the market, are decision-makers for the entire metropolis; but the small city, with its limited resources, is most vulnerable to such economic determinations.

The country's failure to adopt flexible development standards results in subdivisons being erected on the fringes of a community to less than local requirements. In order to obtain sewer services, the subdividers then apply for annexation to the city, and the city is powerless to reject this application if they wish to exert control over the adjacent territory. We call this "expansion by effluent" which is scarcely a classic criteria for urban development.

The courts are decision-makers in more than the accepted usage of the word. Small cities which are pioneering in architectural controls, for example, must move slowly or risk invalidation of their ordinances. Local school boards, as well as private and public utilities, can make autonomous decisions in situating new facilities without regard to broader community planning considerations.

Direct decisions by outside agencies can forever scar a small city, no matter how carefully that city may be planned and governed. These are the decisions that bring tears to a councilman's eye and cauliflowers to a councilman's ear from irate phone calls from constituents. For instance, the Army Corps of Engineers, in the legitimate cause of flood control, will destroy a stream bed that is overhung with live oaks and bordered by native shrubs. In its place they build a pristine, concrete channel which is overhung by barbed wire and bordered by raw gravel.

The suburban landscape is otherwise raped by decisions from on high. Claremont, having completed ten blocks of median island planting along Highway 66, worked out a joint agreement with the State Division of Highways to continue this planted median through the entire length of the city. It was a green jewel on a neon and asphalt ribbon. Almost the next day, the Council was informed that a private electric company was going to install 90-foot poles along the highway to carry high voltage wires. The city had no choice; the poles were going up on state right-of-way. And up they went in all of their fake-palm tree trunk ugliness to forever mar a lovely thoroughfare - or at least for the disgustingly durable life of the poles which is estimated at 50 years!

Social and planning values in freeway alignment are too often ignored. Freeways turn sleepy hamlets into bustling, bedroom communities at the first snip of the ribbon. The new citizenry of a bedroom community assimilates into civic life slowly, if at all. Thus, in addition to massive increases in essential capital improvements, the city recently bisected by a freeway faces the necessity of building a cohesive community and re-evaluating its goals. No small city is equipped financially or emotionally for the impact of the intensive growth and citizen alienation that moves like a giant trailer rig down a newly opened freeway. The decision to remain small, to wake up slowly, or even to stay asleep is no longer in the hands of local government.

If (and I regard it as a very big IF) rapid transit ever comes to the Los Angeles Metropolis, we, of the small cities, hope that the Southern California Rapid Transit District will profit from some of the errors that were made in the Bay Area. One community in Alameda County is now being bisected by a 35-foot elevated truck, thus creating not only a physical barrier, but a sound barrier as well since BART now admits that their cars are going to emit all the dreadful descibels of a normal railroad car.

In other words, technicians frequently are, but should not be, ultimate decision-makers, although their expertise certainly is an essential element in any wise decision. The technicians forget that, like it or not, feelings are facts in every decision made in a democracy. Feelings, however, are a little difficult to computerize.

These are some of the consequences of our lack of machinery to coordinate the various governmental and private bureaucracies which affect the metropolitan complex. These are the decision-makers beyond the recall and the referendum.

The other side of the coin is not so tarnished. The small city can and does reflect the decisions of the electorate more directly than can be true of the core city or the urban county. The citizen and the small city are in constant dialog - a dialog that usually results in community consensus. A city can decide on its own density, its own development standards, its own park and recreation program, and its own particular character within its financial means. It can, by planning decisions, price itself out of the general market and thus hold back the population tide. It can set goals and hold to them, but no five-man council has sufficient fingers to man the dikes. Citizen involvement through commissions and committees work not only to broaden citizen involvement in government but also to spread the involvement in preliminary decisions. Decision-making in a small city is no more oligarchic than in a large city, but the channels of communication are such that the power structure more nearly reflects the broad community.

How are political decisions really made in a small city? You would not believe it! It is a multiple process which normally begins with small groups of citizens using their political resources - influence, knowledge, skill, time - to pressure and bargain with elected decision-makers. The latter in turn use these same ingredients of the art of politics to compromise, cajole, and persuade. Normally, given the average citizen's apathy to government, the process functions smoothly. Only when the apolitical Average Man snarlingly turns to fight for his own R-1, "his" park, or "his" street is the cylinder of community decision-making distorted to a conical shape, leaving the elected official teetering alone at the apex.

However, there are some self-limiting tendencies which work to maintain the stability of such a pluralistic system. Having influence is not enough; the imperative is in knowing how to use it. No leader who abuses this influence will long lead in the face of the constraints of consensus and our democratic creed. But, consensus is not an immutable fact; consensus is a process. It is always open to the interplay between the leaders and the led, the dialog between the political professionals and the man whose only participation will be through the voting booth. New leaders will arise, either through assimilation or conflict. The decision-makers are no more durable than the consensus that supports them.

This movement toward pluralism that has been pointed out by the previous speakers is evident, of course, throughout our metropolis; and I do not think that Los Angeles is ever going to find the glue of a specific program - such as the pollution of San Francisco Bay. So, I anticipate that the future will be full of divisions, conflict, and bargaining - a continuing pattern. However, just as like-minded neighbors or a mutually concerned cross-section of citizens can shape decisions in Claremont, so like-minded governments can, and are, influencing the decisions of the metropolis.

Critics of the urban scene frequently neglect this burgeoning source of decisions. For example, the East San Gabriel Valley Planning Committee's model ordinance for hillside development is currently before the city councils of the thirteen towns involved. By this approach, the cities anticipate relative uniformity in retaining the natural contours and beauty of the hills that surround the valley. The same group has just completed a model service station ordinance. (If you like them, you call them service stations; if you don't like them, you call them gas stations.) If this ordinance is adopted by the thirteen cities, it would limit gas stations as to location, setbacks, and permissible signs.

Nineteen small cities are currently exploring the possibility of an intercity computer center which would provide specific planning information along with more mundane chores. Recently three cities in two counties bordering a major thoroughfare have formed an advisory committee composed of property owners, potential developers, city planners - and here is a plug - representatives of the League of Women Voters to draw up a general plan for that area. This is now being adopted. This kind of cooperative decision-making, either through joint-powers agreements or ad hoc committees, is rapidly becoming standard.

Just as the Los Angeles City proposal to form a city-county committee to examine metropolitan goals was eagerly endorsed by the League of California Cities, so were small cities quick to join SCAG. Most such cities also regard the Local Agency Formation Commission as a stimulant to intercity planning.

The small cities are exploring the mesas of cooperative decision-making. Mr. Edelman quoted Aristotle; but I prefer Pogo who said, "we are resolved to take our stand upon this very place, with small flags waving and tinny blasts on tiny trumpets, and meet the enemy. And he may not only be ours, he may be us."

We are developing precise solutions for small problems; but we, the small cities, are only now beginning to lift our sights and address ourselves to what must necessarily be rough and partial solutions to the big problem. Perhaps we are more sanguine about the future of the metropolis because we are closer to the citizens, who, after all, are the ultimate decision-makers in a representative democracy. We are convinced that governmental services should be allocated to the lowest level feasible and practical; and frequently, this is not the city.

The paraphrase John Stewart Mill, "certainly we know that the metropolis is not a machine to be built after a model and set to do exactly the work prescribed for it, but a tree, which requires to grow and develop itself on all sides, according to the tendency of inward forces which makes it a living thing."

Chairman: Mrs. Loring

Thank you very much, Mayor Spear. I think you can tell from the attention and the applause of the audience that they appreciated your notion that growth can happen in an orderly fashion. Furthermore, some of us from the big city have learned that our view of small cities is not necessarily so.

Our next speaker represents the viewpoint of the county, that massive area outlined on your maps. Mr. Roy Hoover, who is in charge of special services for the Los Angeles County Chief Administrative Offices, will speak on our general subject, "Decision-making As it Applies to Governmental Planning." Mr. Hoover received his bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Minnesota, majoring in business administration; and he has done post-graduate work here, at UCLA. I think it is rather interesting, incidentally, to notice the varied kinds of background which our governmental officials bring to this field. Mr. Hoover's prior assignments include (among a long list of activities): civil consultant to the Air Force, co-owner of a private business, assistant to the Director of Admissions at UCLA, and various personnel and administrative assignments for the county of Los Angeles.

Mr. Hoover . . . . .

County Government

In any discussion at which the keynote theme is "Anatomy For Decision-Making," the term "anatomy," in its conventional sense, indicates that the problem is capable of dissection, that there are identifiable components, and that some insight can be gained by evaluating the relative impact of the various factors involved in the decision-making process.

I suspect that any such discussion in Southern California in general, and in Los Angeles County in particular, must begin with the most prominent element - the most pressing base of our problems - that is, the phenomenal population growth of the past decades. We have been on the receiving end of the greatest mass movements of people because of wars, changes in political climates, agricultural and industrial changes, and various other elements involving forced migration. But the Southern California migration was basically "voluntary"--not because conditions were so bad elsewhere, but that maybe they would be better here.

While we are all familiar with the phenomena, it helps to sharpen our focus on the problem if we detail some of the most elementary statistics. Los Angeles County grew from 33,000 in 1880, to 170,000 in 1900, to over 7 million today. In the seven years since the 1960 census, approximately one million people have been added to this County's population. This is a gain that is greater than that of the total population of either San Francisco or Cleveland.

Los Angeles County's population now represents 36% of California's total population, and 21% of all those living in the 13 western states. To put it another way, for every 100 people migrating into the 13 western states, 29 of them will reside in Los Angeles County.

Looking ahead, we will have a population of 7,4000,000 by the end of this decade. In the next decade, we will probably add at least another 1,600,000.

It is an old axiom to say that it is people who create problems, and certainly that is fully applicable to the Los Angeles County area. The smoke plumes from the early pueblos created no air pollution problem, even though the inversion layer - like an aerial lid over the basis - was as prominent a meteorological factor then as now. The transportation problems of a century ago were those of raiding parties on stage coaches going through such now famous areas as Cajon Pass. Employment was no particular problem in the early years, since the limited population could always find jobs cultivating the rich areas fed by streams, river-beds, and the early irrigation efforts of the Franciscan Fathers. This distant past contributes little to our current-day situation; however, moving to the more recent past, and reciting some of these circumstances, does lend insight to the problems of the present and future.

In the research preceeding this presentation, I have attempted to identify some of the major problems of the recent past, and then try to determine if there is a sameness or, if you please, an anatomy for decision-making which lends itself to the treatment of today's problems. While there are no profound research results to cite, it is interesting to note that in nearly every major problem area of the past requiring a major effort - by both public and private interests - there are five readily identifiable steps:

1. First, there is an identification, on analysis, as to the nature of the problem.
2. There is what might be called a conceptualization of how the problem might be solved.
3. There is a planning effort by the involved parties, involving a series of specifics.
4. There are action steps, which usually involve the broad public acceptance, as to the nature of the problem and the willingness of the public, and public agencies, to cooperatively support the effort by financial contributions.
5. Finally, there is implementation, involving in many instances, both the public and private interests of the community.

Since we are talking today about the significant role played by government, let me review some of the early problems in Southern California, and particularly in Los Angeles County, and how they have been met by an action program.

In this area we have always been concerned with water. And water has led to the development of three major and unique programs worthy of review, particularly since each has involved various levels of government and a high degree of cooperation between governmental agencies, functioning in carefully defined legal and policy roles, and with broad public support.

Nature created our first problem in Southern California with water. The mountain ranges lying to the north of the Los Angeles basin have experienced some of the heaviest, but localized rainfalls recorded anywhere in the world.

These intense rainfalls created gushing waters into precipitious canyons, and down on the basin where a porous soil was swept along in torrents, with tragic consequences for anything and everything in its path. Efforts by individual foothill cities to control the problem on a localized basis were totally inadequate. In addition, the problem was recognized as one involving a geographic area, and only incidentally political boundaries. The political boundary line most aligned with the nature of the problem was that of the County.

Therefore, in 1915, the County Flood Control District was established, after hearings, and with the support of the cities and community groups who recognized these basic needs. It took approximately 12 years for the District staff to develop a master plan for flood control, again with the consensus of the cities, and other local governmental agencies, and with the promised support of the State and Federal governments. A companion financing plan was developed by the County, State, and Federal governments. Funds were committed, and the master plan was implemented. Now, except for problems created by watershed fires, there are vast areas of the County virtually immune to all but extreme storms that are likely to occur only every 50 to 100 years. At every step of the way in the implementation of this comprehensive plan there has been a combination of highly competent engineering, intergovernmental cooperation, and community consensus. It should be stressed that the tax burden for this program would have been nearly impossible to bear by the local taxpayers had we not had the cooperation and support of the State and Federal governments. The problem would be now near solution, were it not for the continuous rapid growth and development of the metropolitan area, which converts potentially flood-safe areas into hazard areas as the new developments take place.

The story of developing an adequate water supply for domestic, commercial and industrial expansion in this area is well-known. In fact, the very uniqueness of this water supply system, and the efficiency with which it works, precludes the listing in most instances of water as a problem in Los Angeles Country. In so successfully meeting the problem, there has been a cloak over public concern because of the unique efforts of governmental agencies to work cooperatively in the solution of a common problem.

The early efforts of the City of Los Angeles in the early 1900's constitute a dramatic story of a people, through their government, meeting an urgent need. The establishment and development of the Metropolitan Water District has augmented efforts by many individual municipalities through the formation of an entity with sufficient authority, tax base and geographic area to deal with what is in fact an area-wide problem.

Another major problem involving water has been the unique efforts in the basin area in the disposal of liquid waste. Here again, the City of Los Angeles, with its vast size and tax base, developed one effective system to be followed by another cooperative effort, through the County Sanitation Districts, to serve the smaller cities, whose area and resources required a cooperative effort.

The story of the development of the Sanitation Districts reads, with appropriate variations, like the stories involving the efforts to solve the flood control and water consumption problems of the basin area.

In many other areas, there has been a similar process of cooperative decision-making. For example, the Los Angeles Civic Center was only a dream in the 20's. There was then only the City Hall, the Hall of Justice, Courthouse, a Federal building and a few miscellaneous governmental structures. During the 30's there was little action, because of economic conditions. But extensive planning on the Civic Center of the future was begun by all levels of government. In the 1940's, private architectural services were combined with planning resources of government to formalize the dream of the 20's and the plan of the 30's. And after World War II, the final format was laid for what is now the largest planned concentration of public buildings outside of Washington, D. C. The city of Los Angeles, the Los Angeles Municipal Department of Water and Power, the County, the State, the Federal government, and the Board of Education took concerted action to proceed for the major public a service area of unparalleled convenience.

To supplement the massive development in the Los Angeles Civic Center area, and with appropriate miniaturization, the same procedure was followed in the development of the 15 branch administrative centers of the County - combined Civic Center areas for City and County services.

Another illustration is in the functions of the County Regional Planning Commission, who, in cooperation with the cities, Special Districts, community groups, public and private utilities, and private developers, conduct area planning studies that have become "blueprints" for cooperative action by public agencies and a meaningful framework for efficient development of private business and commercial enterprises and residential areas.

While our total transportation problem is far from solution, the highway and freeway system that was a dream in the 30's is now a reality. The plan involving Federal, State, County and municipal areas of responsibility in the construction of public roads is unequalled anywhere in the nation. A major portion of our much heralded transportation problem is the astounding fact that in 10 years from now, it is estimated that in Southern California we will have one passenger automobile for every two citizens. If we include the southern half of California's 15 counties, we have more motor vehicles and more passenger automobiles than any state in the nation, except California. In this area we have recently passed Pennsylvania, Ohio and Texas in the number of passenger automobiles. It might be appropriate to say that the merits of an intelligently planned system have somehow become submerged because of unparalleled vehicle ownership.

Speaking with pardonable pride as a representative of the County of Los Angeles, I should like to dwell briefly on the role played by the government of the County of Los Angeles. In the framework of a consistently cooperative attitude on the part of the cities and other special districts, the County departments have been able to provide, or assist in providing, supportive facilities for this phenomenal growth through the development of roads, police and fire protection, health facilities, recreation service, area-wide planning, and other necessary ingredients to provide an attractive framework for industrial, residential and commercial growth. In the program to provide for services at the County level, one of our most conspicuous and publicized activities was the development of the County Services to cities program. In the period from 1939 to 1954, when the population growth of the unincorporated area grew from 445,000 to 1,150,000 (159%) not one city incorporation took place. It was then necessary for the County to gear itself to provide municipal type services to this vast unincorporated city of over 1,000,000 people. During this same period other services provided on a County-wide basis were also required to grow for example in welfare, courts, probation, recording of records, hospitals, etc. It is significant to note that since 1954, 31 cities have incorporated and many areas have annexed to cities, but population of the unincorporated area of the County is still over one million. In the development of the County services to cities program, presently a total of 29 cities with a total population of approximately 665,000 received most of their municipal services from the government of the County. Only 4 cities in the United States, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia, provide municipal services to a larger population.

Many have associated the County-City services program with the incorporation of the City of Lakewood. Actually, before this incorporation took place in 1954, there were over 400 service agreements between the County and the 45 cities that existed at that time. With the City of Lakewood, the County significantly expanded its services to cities program through the provision of all municipal-type services. In spite of the many other merits of the program, the key concept -- which has been the foundation of its success--is that the Council of the City served by County services has retained its legislative, budgetary and planning controls. This program has now grown to the point where we now have over 1,500 service agreements with cities. It is interesting to note that 539 of these agreements are with what is commonly called the "old line" or non-contract cities. It is also interesting to note that there has been a trend in recent years for these cities to request more services from the County, particularly in areas involving large capitalization and highly technical services.

Paralleling this growth, there has been a significant development of other service arrangements through the use of contracts, the creation of special districts between cities, and between cities and special districts.

The total effect of this cooperative framework--without parallel anywhere in the nation--is that an urbanized community has met many of the basic growth problems--of unparalleled proportions--with a significant degree of functional consolidation, while preserving the desirable attributes of home rule and the community's dominion over its own destiny. Or to put it another way, we have provided for a functional consolidation without the need for political consolidation, which as been the much-talked about "curse" of metropolitan government.

In a very real sense, this area has been a laboratory in the functioning of the governmental processes under unparalleled conditions of growth, with constant pressure by the citizens, and the commercial and industrial owners, for an effective level of local services within reasonable costs.

At this point we should add that numerous State programs and the cooperative legislative acts by the government of the State of California have aided all of us in seeking solutions to our problems.

In recent years, the role of Federal government has been increasingly significant, as most recently in dealing with the problems of the congested older urban areas.

It might be presumptuous to describe our solution to problems as a "model" for other now rapidly growing areas to follow; however, we can say with certainty that our plan has been studied and partially copied by many other major metropolitan areas throughout the country.

In each instance, our total community environment has been sufficiently healthy and progressive to allow for a realistic appraisal of the circumstances creating the problem, which in turn has led to intelligent planning, which was then galvanized into action and final implementation with the tools of government.

It has sometimes been said that the "shock waves" of change in this area have been so dramatic that we have been forced to take steps that under lesser pressures would have still been in the embryonic stages. But regardless of the reasons, we have developed a blueprint, which if nurtured and fostered to meet future conditions, will provide a political, economic and social environment that bids well for the future of our great area.

Chairman: Mrs. Loring

Mr. Hoover, we thank you for the insight and information you have given us. We realize that 20 minutes is never enough time to describe the amount of programming which goes on in any jurisdiction as vast as the county of Los Angeles. But we do realize, with fresh impact, the complexity which results from a combination of geography, history, politics and economics — to say nothing about human relationships.

Our next speaker is Mr. Philip Simpson who is presently the Executive Secretary of the Intergovernmental Council on Urban Growth; he was appointed to that position July, 1964. For those of you who may not be quite familiar with the ramifications of that body, the Intergovernmental Council is an advisory agency created in the office of the governor and is composed of 18 members who represent cities, counties, and school districts as well as state agencies and the public. Mr. Simpson has a degree from the University of California at Berkeley and a master's degree in public administration from Sacramento State College. As with the rest of our professional representatives from government, he has had a variety of experiences in the fields of public management, regional planning, and intergovernmental relations. Also, he has had experience with a private planning, consulting firm as well as with governmental agencies.

Mr. Simpson . . . . .

State Government

Today, when I took a look at the topic - "Who Makes Decisions in Our Metropolis?" - I began to get a nagging doubt as to whether or not this was a sincere question on the part of the planners of the conference. Were they really concerned about who makes the decisions, or were they just trying to pin the blame on somebody for the urban mess?

I think that we have had a little bit of both of that this morning. We have found that the planners have been blamed - as well as technicians, engineers, the federal government, state government, local government, right wingers, and a little bit of everybody.

I also began to ask: What is a planning decision? Actually, I think that a city council's decision on the disposal of garbage is basically an urban planning decision. For example, this issue of garbage disposal has raised quite a "stink" in the San Francisco Bay Area. There we find that it brings many local, regional, state, and federal agencies into play about the decision of what San Francisco (the city and county of San Francisco) is going to do with its garbage. Is it going to fill the Bay, or is it going to do something like putting it on a railroad car and shipping it out to the desert?

I would now like to state a qualification about my remarks. I know that I have been billed in the program as speaking for state government. Actually, the agency that I do represent is the Intergovernmental Council on Urban Growth, which is the only formal combination of state and local government officials for the consideration of broad intergovernmental policy matters. I do not want to overlook the public members either. One member in the audience, Warren Campbell from San Fernando Valley State College, is playing a key role as the executive director to the Destination 90 project. He is also a valuable member of the Intergovernmental Council

I have also noticed that there is a constant theme through all the remarks so far: dollars, fiscal affairs, finance, and who pays. It is not really the decisions or who makes the decisions, but who pays. Councilman Edelman said we would like an arrangement with the state government where we, the city, decide how much is levied; let the state collect it; and then let us, at the local level, say what is to be done with it. Local officials want local decision-making; but they like the help of the state, too. I think that we ought to look forward to this kind of financial cooperation. Therefore, I ought to talk about intergovernmental fiscal relations, since this really is what intergovernmental relations is all about. It is the dollars: who pays, who collects, who sends back, and what kind of decisions can be made given the dollars allocated to implement those decisions.

Actually, I would like to say that in answer to "Who Makes Decisions in Our Metropolis?" it has been relatively evident that it all depends upon what function or program you are talking about. It is my observation that regardless of what program you are working with now or what program you are looking at, if you work with the program long enough, you will find that some level of government, other than the one with which you started, is also involved.

For example, just try to answer: "Who is responsible for recreation?" It all depends. It all depends upon what you are talking about: pro baseball, a bowling alley, a tot lot, a regional park, a golf course, or just plain fishing. Take any one of these, and in each you will find a different combination of agencies and a different combination of responsibilities.

The intergovernmental Council, after a year of touring the state to discuss urban problems with people both in and out of government, had this to say in the Council's 1965 report: (the yellow document in your kit of materials for this conference).

> "It is difficult and, in some cases, almost impossible to separate the state's interest in a solution of urban problems from those of the federal and local levels of government. Governmental services and controls are intermixed in almost all public programs - from dental care to sewage systems. In fact, major problems of urban growth require the sharing of functional responsibilities. As a general rule, no one of the partners can handle the whole job; and no one should because all are involved."

So today, coordination is the essential element for formulating policy, for making decisions, and for implementing those decisions in our metropolis. In fact, coordination is the theme of what I have to say today.

It has been said that a clear definition of the problem puts you well on the way to a solution. I suggest, then, that the problem is not "who does what for whom" or "who makes the decisions." The problem is to coordinate the decision-makers and to agree upon the proper jurisdiction to assume the coordinating role. Somebody has to be in charge, if only just to direct traffic. I suggest, also, that this coordinating role will differ, depending on the particular function involved and the evolution of how that particular function involved and the evolution of how that particular function became recognized as a public responsibility. This last feature is very important because the people form different constituencies in seeking governmental response to their public needs. If their city council or their board of supervisors do not respond to their satisfaction, they can carry the problem to Sacramento and to Washington.

Actually, the only way to determine the particular responsibilities for a program or function is to study the workings of that particular program. Therefore, I picked one program to serve as an example. I think it is an appropriate one - open-space conservation. This is especially suitable here because the sponsor of this conference, University of California Extension, has just published a booklet based on the Eckbo report. This report is a study of urban metropolitan open space and performed for the State Office of Planning by the firm of Eckbo, Dean, Austin and Williams as a part of the state development plan studies.

First of all, though, I would like to state as simply as possible the basic importance of open space. The location, acquisition, and retention of open-space land is a matter deeply affecting the future pattern of urban growth of the state and of the quality of the state's environment. Open space, and I think this is the essence of it, open space has the effect of channeling new development. Where land for open space is permanently retained, urban development cannot occur on it but can occur--and be more desirable--around it. As you here in Southern California are so keenly aware, one of the biggest environmental problems right in there with transportation, smog, and waste management is the need to establish large-scale, permanent open spaces in the spawling metropolis. I will not cite the example which are illustrated in the open-space study in your kit of materials. You can take a look; it is pretty frightening news.

There are at least four different programs directly related to open-space land conservation; and in these four programs, the state government plays four different roles. In the State Park Program, the state performs as proprietor. In the Federal Outdoor Recreation Program, the state provides a state plan as the basis for federal approval of projects; and it acts as statewide coordinator for both state and local project applications. In the Federal Open Space Program, the state acts only indirectly and essentially as a by-product of its role in the Outdoor Recreation Program. Fourth, in the implementation of the Open Space Conservation Amendment to the State Constitution, the state will provide the basic legal guidelines for local action.

In the State Park System, I think we can all recognize the role of the state; for it is relatively historic. It plays a very important part here in Los Angeles and is an example of intergovernmental cooperation in which the state government acquires, for example, your ocean beaches and your beach state parks. Then, through a cooperative arrangement with Los Angeles County, the county maintains and operates those beaches. So again, who makes the decision in that instance? The state is proprietor; the county is day-to-day administrator.

I would like to go into the Federal Outdoor Recreation Program in a little more detail because this is the very essence of intergovernmental coordination, both with regard to its legal framework and with regard to its administration. First of all, the law provides there must be a statewide outdoor recreation plan. The plan must designate a state agency to deal with the federal agency and, among other things, must use the same planning data and projections as are used in state plans for other functions. I mention this because I think that as often is the case with federal requirements, they start very slowly and quietly with a mild stipulation that those receiving federal grants must submit documentation that they are going to spend the money wisely. A subsequent requirement is that the plans have to be approved on an area-wide, coordinated basis. Now, the latest demonstration that federal requirements have a way of growing, is demonstrated by this requirement that the State Outdoor Recreating Plan use the same planning data and projections as are used in other functional state plans. I think a next step is to take the statewide, functional plans for programs - such as recreation, the master plan for parks, and the state highway plan - and use the same data so that they all relate to one another. You might say that this should be done at the state level already. I think that we may get there with a little encouragement.

To go a little further with this Outdoor Recreation Program, it is a federal program; but the state prepares the plan which is administered by the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation in the United States Department of Interior. Through the Outdoor Recreation Regional Offices, the work is done in each state through one individual, a state official. In California this official is the Resources Agency Administrator. The responsibility of that agency administrator is to develop the annual list of recommended projects, whether they are recommended by state or by local governments. To assist in this task, the State Administrator has established an advisory committee which includes representatives from the League of California Cities and from the County Supervisors Association as well as state members.

One developing aspect that is important is Proposition 3 on the 1966 State Ballot, the Open Space Amendment to the California State Constitution. Thus far, this amendment is just an authorization to the state legislature to define open-space land and to provide that when such lands are subject to enforceable restriction to be used solely for recreation, scenic beauty, natural resources or for the production of food and fiber, that such lands be valued for assessment purposes consistent with that restriction and use.

The legislature has taken an additional step. Chapter 87, Statutes of 1967, establishes a joint legislative committee on open-space lands to study the legislature's authority with respect to open-space as now provided in the amended Article XXVIII of the State Constitution and to conduct a study of the application of legislation with respect to that article. It also provides for the creation of a Citizen's Advisory Committee to assist the joint legislative committee.

It is most interesting to note that the activating task in this area has been given to the legislative branch of state government and not to the executive branch. This indicates that the state's main effort is directed to the development of legislative guidelines for open-space conservation and that the actual implementation will remain in the hands of city and county government where the basic local planning and zoning powers still lie. It indicates that the state government is not yet considering going into the land-use planning and zoning business. I point this out because the open-space study done for the State Office of Planning recommends the creation of a new open-space department in the executive branch.

I hope this example in open-space conservation helps to make the point that regardless of what function you wish to look at more than just one level of government or agency is concerned. I want to agree with the speakers so far that some improvement has been made in intergovernmental coordination. State government has played a role in this; they have established the Intergovernmental Council on Urban Growth so that for the first time there is a formal vehicle by which state and local policy officials can sit down to discuss mutual problems and to recommend acceptable alternatives. In 1963, the state legislature established local agency formation commissions to review and approve the orderly growth of cities and special districts. Here, again, is another effort at county-wide intergovernmental relations with city councilmen, county supervisors and public members sitting down together. Regional councils of local government are another recent and healthy improvement. These are made possible by the state Joint Exercise of Powers Act. This law, dating back to 1921, is the basis for the formation of the Southern California Association of Governments.

There is still improvement needed; I think this was pointed out. Along the lines of improvement needed, I think I would agree with Mrs. Spear that the machinery to coordinate is at hand through intergovernmental cooperation and coordinating using such devices as intercity cooperation, intercity committee, ad hoc committees, city-county agreements, contracts, and associations of cities and counties for the regional dimensions.

Chairman: Mrs. Loring

Thank you very much, Mr. Simpson. As we were discussing before the start of this session, I suspect that with the new governor in office one of the greatest areas of curiosity is "what will be the attitude and action at the state level." Therefore, it is very helpful to hear from your experience about what has been happening. Surely this will give us some notions of potential future directions.

Our last speaker (I suppose, Mr. Pollard, that no one ever says "last but not least" when they talk about the federal government) – Our last speaker does indeed represent the federal government and its multiplied program. Mr. Donald Pollard is the Director of Region VI Planning Branch, Program Coordination and Services Division for the new Department of Housing and Urban Development. For the information of those of you in the southern part of the state of California, the offices of the Region VI are located in San Francisco but, in fact, are responsible for the eleven Western States.

Prior to joining HUD's staff, Mr. Pollard served as Deputy City Manager for the city of Fresno, California. During this time, he was responsible for coordinating the design and construction of the Fresno Mall. He, too, has an academic background with a master's degree in public administration from the University of Colorado at Boulder. As with many of our other governmental officials, he has spoken widely, has had vast experience, and has published articles on the subjects of municipal administration and urban development.

Mr. Pollard . . . . .

National Government

Today I have the somewhat ominous task of representing the federal government - whatever that is. The task is doubly difficult because its subject is the decision-making process. . . which I suspect is a spontaneous reaction.

If I may relate a personal feeling, it is always good to be back in Los Angeles because it is here I spent my first day on the job with the federal government. Can you imagine a way to begin a "career with the federal government?" I appeared with an entourage of federal officials at the public hearing before the County Board of Supervisors and listened to discussions on the subject of Los Angeles County joining SCAG. How was I to know that this forum for decision-making was to be repeated over and over again in other parts of the west during the ensuing months.

Today, I want to talk about the decision-making process as it is stimulated by a detectable thrust of the federal government in terms of its relationship with local government. The task is a difficult one. It is like trying to weave a thin thread through a haystack - the thread being what I think is the thrust that is coming about, the haystack being the mistakes that the federal government has made in its relations with local governments. We could probably exchange examples of poor federal investment and mistakes. It is a recognition of this fact that has brought about an evolution in the development of the position of the federal government. Interestingly, the decision-making process is the point at which this new relationship is being forged. The federal government's emphasis today is to find a way of focusing the decision-making process at the metropolitan or regional level. This effort takes to the very frontier of our ability to understand how decisions can and should be made. I agree with Dr. Bollens that the federal governments position has not always been as a result of drift, although it frequently looks that way.

First, let us look at the federal government in an attempt to focus itself and them at the same effort at a local level.

What is the federal government? To begin with, the federal government is so large as an administrative organization that it will never make sense. If we cannot accept this fact a great deal of corrective thinking with administrative process will be just that.

Even though it may never make administrative sense, the federal government can attempt to unify its policy and avoid the situations where it it in obvious conflict with itself in terms of its grant programs and in terms of its policies. This unifying effort has taken two substantial steps forward during the last three or four years. Much of the credit goes to Senator Muskie's Committee on Intergovernmental Relations. (If you are not familiar with this committee, I would highly recommend their publications to you for consideration. They are, in effect, a preview of the coming legislation that is developing on the federal level.)

In the first step, the President of the United States issued what some people call a rather innocuous executive order giving the Department of Housing and Urban Development, the convenor authority. This was a very significant step because the federal government has tried a number of unsuccessful approaches at convening the federal resources to see how it could pool its efforts at problem-solving. You had one of the most recent efforts here in Los Angeles. The McCone Commission was a direct appointment by the President which said, "You will cooperate with this group."

A second and more recent approach was to designate HUD with the same authority to convene federal agencies in areas that need an across-the-board federal point of view. I caution here that to be able to bring together all of the resources of the federal government on a specific problem is a rather ominous possibility. This feeling may be a personal one resulting from working in local government during the past years. I flinch when I consider a local government decision-making process that is deluged by an availability of federal grant money, but that is a degression!

In terms of the federal government, focusing its efforts there has been the executive order and second, congressional action to put its own house in order. This came about in the Housing Act of 1966, sometimes referred to as Demonstration Cities until everybody thought they had to have a demonstration to qualify. In this Act most attention is given to Title I; few people read Title II, which is entitled Planned Metropolitan Development. It provides that after July 1, 1967, all loans and grants in an urban area shall be submitted to a regional agency for review. It then designates that the Bureau of the Budgets will issue orders on how to implement this section of the legislation. They have done this in a circular called BOB Circular 82A, which identifies specific programs that are to be focused upon by Title II of the Housing Act of '66.* There is a great deal of positioning going on at the present time in terms of who is going to do what.

The initial thrust (of this piece of legislation) is to help local governments and the federal government identify relevant problems which are regional in nature. Here we are at the frontier I spoke of previously, and the the frontier is a recognition of the failings of existing political boundaries and the resultant emergence of regional concerns and problems. Some areas have been able to identify regionally rather well. As was pointed out, the Bay Area has Bay pollution to catch its regional attention. Seattle had the same thing when Lake Washington turned green. We have other areas which you can use as examples. Los Angeles has had such a difficult time in identifying itself that it is frequently referred to as seven suburbs looking for a city. Because there are such sensitive problems deeply rooted in local conflicts between cities and counties, there is little reason to wonder why the administration of the new legislation is controversial. The Housing Act's Section 204 is an effort to bring the resources of the federal government across the board, not just HUD to focus at a regional level on plans and programs which have a regional significance.

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*Author's Note:

During the time since this speech was given the Bureau of the Budget has issued amendments to the original A-82 circular which adds and deletes certain programs.

Second, leaving the federal efforts at good housekeeping for a moment, there is another thrust in federal legislation which goes directly to the problem of the local decision-making processes on a regional basis. Actually, this thrust predated the Housing Act of '66 by almost two years. Again, it came from Senator Muskie's committee and is referred to in general terms as the Comprehensive Planning Requirements. The Comprehensive Planning Requirements apply to three programs, the water and sewer grant program, the open-space program, and the urban mass-transportation grant program. All three stated in simplest terms, there can be no federal investments in these three programs unless the specific projects are consistent with a regional planning process. A regional planning process requires a regional agency for developing plans and therefore you have the reason for the formation of agencies such as SCAG. There are over 200 of them formed and being formed at the present time. In the West there are now regional agencies formed in all but one of our standard metropolitan statistical areas, or what is identified as an urban area; and there are twenty more in process. This really is a significant step on the part of local government to be able to react. Going back to what was said previously by Councilman Edelman from Los Angeles, we do have vital local government. This vitality is one of our greatest assets in the West. This has been an all too brief explanation of two efforts to establish a decision-making process that can hope to be meaningful. Obviously the effort locally must be matched federally to obtain such goals. It also leads both "federals" and locals into exciting country. Almost immediately both have to face the implications of regional consistency as it relates to home rule, or the right of individual cities to make individual decisions. If the federal government will not invest in local development projects unless there is some consensus at the local level as to how development shall take place, then it seems that local government is forced to make decisions. How that can be interpreted to be counter to the interests of home rule is beyond me. But at the same time, how conflicting local interests in urban areas can be allowed to go unresolved is equally disturbing.

Finally, let us zero in for a brief moment on one particular problem and relate it to the Los Angeles region. One of the easiest to visualize is Los Angeles' efforts to provide urban mass transportation. Today we are able to design a rapid-transit system which looks similar to the map that was shown. Yet, what are the regional implications of the placement of this system? Cannot rapid transit help the region to identify itself as a community? The fact is that today Los Angeles sprawls. It has such horizontal development reflected in its freeway pattern that it doesn't really make sense as anything but a series of suburbs. The freeways do not go to and from; they go all over. Quite the opposite of Gertrude Stein's Oakland, where there is "no there, there." Los Angeles has "there everywhere and everywhere is an hour away."

The urban mass-transportation tool is one way of trying to make some sense in terms of the identity and form for a community. Question: Should not the question of urban form be raised before federal funding of rapid transit? Which is moving more rapidly - the effort of overall comprehensive planning for your region or the efforts to plan a specific facility of mass transit? Obviously, regional planning and transit planning must be brought together if we are not to miss the opportunity to make our cities a creature which services us rather than dictates how we will live in them. Unfortunately, cities manipulate people today. Cities run us. We respond to our cities.

I hope that the efforts of the federal government will be successful to try to bring itself together and to try to provide the tools by which regional questions must be raised, as well as questions about the quality of our environment. We are capable of developing devices for regional decisions to cope with the unbelievable urban onslaught that faces us today.

Chairman: Mrs. Loring

Perhaps, Mr. Pollard, you have given today's keynote which is "not forty-seven hundred decision-makers for us." We thank you very much for giving so clearly this picture of only a few of the interesting and helpful programs of the federal government.

We have planned that after lunch you will stay at the same table which will be the round table for your discussion of several key questions. We want to hear your viewpoints and your ideas on some of the questions which were raised here this morning. We have tried to make these round tables representative of the diversity which is here in the audience so that, hopefully, you will not find yourself discussing again, as you may every day of the week, the same issues with the same people. If the issues are the same ones you have been talking about, then your discussion will be with different people.

WHAT DO WE WANT? THE CITIZENS SPEAK

Luncheon was planned as a relaxed, working session. Participants were assigned to tables of eight, each with a discussion leader, and were asked to use the following questions as framework for discussion:

1. From your viewpoint what are the three most important decision areas relative to physical planning in Los Angeles County?
2. Realistically considering the manner in which decisions on planning are now made by city council and boards of supervisors, what are the specific changes needed to produce more effective decisions in the next five years?
3. What comments and/or suggestions would you make regarding coordination of decisions by special districts and separate agencies (such as Flood Control District, Metropolitan Water District, Boards of Education, Federal and State programs) with regional, county or local plans?

The luncheon discussion provided opportunity for socialization and lively interaction based on the morning session and the discussion questions. Mr. Calvin Hamilton, Director, Los Angeles Department of City Planning, City of Los Angeles, and Mr. Milton Breivogel, Director of Planning, Planning Commission, County of Los Angeles, gave a summary of the reactions and recommendations of the discussion groups in an afternoon program session, "The Citizens Report." See page 77 .

ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION GROUP

The remarks of participants at a representative table were taped and transcribed. Participants in the round table discussion group were:

ELEANOR GLENN: General Manager, Los Angeles County Employees Union, Local 434, Building Service. (Today representing the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor.)

RON JAVOR: Graduate Student, UCLA, Public Administration (local government and county government).

ALBERT D. KEISKER: Director of Community Studies for Real Estate Research Corporation (a consultant organization basically in the field of urban land economics).

CARL F. PAUL: Assistant City Administrative Officer for the City of Los Angeles.

PARTICIA RUSSELL: President, League of Women Voters of Los Angeles County.

WILBUR SMITH: Executive Director of the Southern California Association of Governments.

CARL VENTER: Statewide Coordinator, Real Estate Educational Program, University of California Extension (for the nine campuses).

Excerpts of their luncheon round table discussion follow. . . .

WHAT ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT DECISION AREAS RELATIVE TO PHYSICAL PLANNING IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY?

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That's the basic question which SCAG, the Southern California Association of governments, a voluntary organization of the cities and the six counties: Imperial, Riverside, San Bernadino, Orange, Los Angeles, Ventura Counties, has been organized to identify. . . a forum for discussion, trying to identify regional problems, and recommend solutions back to the agencies, who have the legal responsibility to act. SCAG also engages in planning activities, and examines polls that are made for regional governmental agencies.

SCAG, as a regional planning district, was part of state legislation in '63 to develop over the years a general concept and plan for the physical development of the region. Working in close cooperation and coordination with the cities and counties of the big and special districts of the region, it is committed to developing an open space and a park plan, exploring the possibility of a regional information system. . .

SCAG has set up a series of committees, air pollution control, waste and water control, management, parks and recreation, transportation. . . A grant from the federal government will enable us to pursue this activity--set up a small staff and start the program.

We have been serving as a review agency for certain kinds of applications made by local government for federal funding. Prior to this recognition of SCAG's responsibility in this area, no applications were being accepted from this region for federal grants. For a long time, there was a moratorium on applications for any federal funds here. Actually, this was a function thrust on SCAG that they hadn't really thought about as their role. Over the past year, we have reviewed some 100 applications on open space grants administered by HUD (Housing and Urban Development), the basic water and sewer program of HUD, and the mass transit program of HUD.

Also, we get a technical 10% bonus under the Federal Water Pollution Act which is administered by the Department of Interior. We have reviewed about 100 of these applications to date with about $25,000,000 or $30,000,000 involved.

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WHAT SEEMS TO BE THE MOST FREQUENT PROBLEM THAT IS REPRESENTED BY THE LAND PROPOSAL? ARE TRAFFIC, TRANSPORTATION, POLLUTION PRIORITY PROBLEM AREAS?

Pollution, water and sewer problems are among the major ones, with open space and parks ranking almost along with them. Now mass transit is too.

SCAG is the central expediting office for local programs seeking federal funds. In terms of the content, of what kinds of applications we are processing, this is going to be very dependent upon what kinds of federal funds are available. Local decision-making and local programming will be influenced by federal programs and federal financial support of them.

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WHAT IS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS AND THE PRIORITY OF NEEDS, ASSUMING THAT POLLUTION KNOWS NO COUNTRY BOUNDARIES, AS DO MANY OF THESE OTHER CONSIDERATIONS?

At present, there is a limited amount of funds that are available from the federal government to assist the local jurisdictions, and even the county is meeting some of these major problems. Many of these problems go beyond governmental boundaries and they are tremendously expensive to cope with. Of course, we first need to develop an overall plan to attack the problem. To the extent that we have a major problem, we need to have some assistance from the federal government. But our major concern at the local level is that we need to have more authority to resolve some of the local problems ourselves and not have the federal government set up quite so many regulations and controls over how we resolve our problems. Rather they should see whether or not we are effectively meeting or providing a solution to the problems we face.

This should be a cooperative effort. The federal government should sit down with the various governmental levels of the state as well as organizations like SCAG, and the cities and counties, themselves and together work out a program. We might solve some of these problems, so that when Washington does move, it moves in a direction that has some realistic value at our local level. Too much money is spent at the federal and state level in paper processing rather than accomplishing the end objectives.

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WILL THIS MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF GOVERNMENTAL LEVELS REPRESENT A NEW TYPE OF ORGANIZATION OR COOPERATION?

Yes, they are working in this direction. Attending today is the leader of a group which is working, trying to get cooperation between the federal government, the various local governments and the state in resolving some of these problems.

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TO CONTINUE OUR BASIC QUESTION, WHAT WOULD OTHERS OF YOU SAY ARE THE THREE MOST IMPORTANT DECISION AREAS RELATIVE TO PHYSICAL PLANNING FOR THE COUNTY?

Each of the communities as well as the unincorporated areas of the county, must develop a plan for school systems, a plan for transportation, a plan for parks, and a plan for recreational areas. Once we have decided what we want in the way of a city, then we need to work together to see that we integrate our respective plans between the city and the county (ultimately we would hope through SCAG) so that we would not duplicate each other; in an interrelated system, each one of us would play our part in the development of what we think of as the physical structure of our city. One of our problems has been that city planning has been a very evanescent thing over the years. Every few years, there is a different answer. Today, I get a different concept of what city planning is. We need finally to decide what we want of our city and how much we are willing to deal with them and then we have to also recognize that in a development of plan for that, city that we have a wide variety of interests.

We have to do something about keeping the people from moving out of the central part. In order to do that, you have to have a city that you want to live in.

We have to decide what is it that we want; then develop our individual plans toward these common goals. In this way, we are going to get some stability to the development of the city.

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Planning must transcend these geographical boundaries because the problems transcend the boundaries. . .

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I would recommend a super-agency, on which representatives of all the communities sit. . .

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The problem is that we fragment our idea sessions. And the fragmentation leads to serious dislocations. One of the things that came out of the last summer (Watts riots) was the ability of the whole community to identify problem areas. . . A basic agreement that we had some community problems that are larger than each individual community. From management's, from labor's, from the city's and from the people's point of view, wouldn't it make sense to have a transportation system that connected our communities of potential workers with the manufacturing plants and the places of employment? We do not have that now.

We don't have any provisions for child care centers around places of employment as well as in the area that would free woman who should or who wish to participate in employment, and cannot do so.

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The creation of open spaces is one of the most serious physical needs of the community, not only from a point of view of dealing with our pollution program but for creating beauty, for creating a physical atmosphere for mutual dignity and love and tolerance, and the things we are all committed to.

We need to have cultural activities in our parks. But a plan has to be made for that. We have such untapped talent in this community - artistic, theatrical. This is a community in which cultural activities are just beginning to happen. That is going to make people come into our central city and not rush out into the suburbs and leave a minority community in the central city.

Do we want bedroom communities? Cannot we make a plan somewhat like the California City Plan? Here you have industry and a place of trees and a place of large apartment houses next to small family houses. It is possible to have the children and the aged together. We really haven't asked each other these questions. . . It is timely to have this kind of conference.

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We would like to talk about physical planning as such. But while you can develop the land, you really cannot separate it from human problems and social problems. You can't talk about it just in terms of how you are going to develop that land from a financial viewpoint, but you have to take into consideration the effect on people and how they live.

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WHAT CAN YOU SAY OF THE TENSION OF THE TREMENDOUS ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE THAT HAS TAKEN PLACE IN THE LAST 30 OR 40 YEARS?

I don't think that the residents of Los Angeles have been that much removed from nature or faced with an urban environment that is unbearable. I think one of the characteristics of Los Angeles is that for a large number of people we have an attractive way of life.

One of the reasons for the squall is an attempt to retain a certain relationship of human scale and to retain a relationship to the land and to the environment. Clearly this is achieved much better some places than others. The central city of Los Angeles, as it grows older, is expressing more of the common problems of areas without enough open space. Obviously, we need more in the way of open space and regional parks. There is a lot more we can do, but I certainly am not one who feels that the kind of life we have build is essentially one we should be ashamed of.

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I consider the three most important decision areas relative to physical planning, three points of departure that we have to understand and accept as a foundation. First we must accept the fact that we have a common environment in the Los Angeles Basin.

Second, that within a common environment you can have separate functions. . . a reason and a role for downtown Los Angeles. . . Wilshire Corridor is a very specific and a very logical and a very important part of the total environment of the Basin. You can have no concentrations unless you plan for diversity while sharing a common environment. This logically means points of conflict and points of difference. . . a continual process of adjustment, reaction, interaction.

Third, you have to base every decision for action upon the understanding that you need to continually develop and reexamine a coordinated web. Separate functions are possible within that in terms of geographic location and in terms of what various people want to do. When you talk about a coordinated web, you not only talk about a traffic system, whether it is a freeway or mass transit, but you talk about the ways cultural life becomes interwoven. You talk about the many ways in which the economic life of the Los Angeles Basin ebbs and flows across itself.

The first decision yet to be made in this region is accepting these three principles and then understanding how they form the foundation for talking about transportation, waste material handling, land and space use. Once we begin to think as residents and citizens of something larger than the city of Los Angeles, we will have the human condition and the attitudes of mind which permit making decisions and carrying them out. . .

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I'd like to accept these items as being necessary, too, if you are going to talk about the areas of physical planning. But I have listened to people talk about the three problems in physical planning; I have heard four of them. I would simply agree with them that transportation, waste management (I think we can include both water and air pollution in waste management), open space, and segregated communities or housing patterns are extremely significant. I feel that last one is a serious major problem in physical planning in our area. . .

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A growing problem, less intense here in Los Angeles today than eastern cities, is conservation or reclamation, recovering for viable use parts of the older city in an urban renewal program, including rehabilitation, conservation and reclamation of important parts of our community so that they will remain useful parts of the city. . .

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> HOW CAN WE RECAPTURE THROUGH URBAN RENEWAL CERTAIN OPEN AREAS? HOW CAN AN AREA LIKE WATTS BE BROUGHT BACK INTO A FULL AND VIABLE AND MEANINGFUL AREA?

We must think in terms of planning as being a combination of social work and technical type of thing; it has become a very professionalized movement. There has been a lack of feelings for the effect on people. We need people who have a changed attitude in terms of very long-range, social type of planning.

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> CAN WE DO THIS, ASSUMING THAT WE HAVE SUFFICIENT MONEY; COULD WE REALLY HAVE DIRECTIONS TO GO? COULD WE SECURE THE COOPERATION OF VARIOUS GROUPS THAT HAVE VESTED INTERESTS AND SELFISH DESIRES FOR ACCOMPLISHING FINANCIAL AND OTHER ENDS FOR THEMSELVES? WHAT WOULD BE THE PROBLEMS OF ACCOMPLISHING COOPERATION IF WE HAD SUFFICIENT MONEY?

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With sufficient money, we would have direction if we have this change of attitude. We created local agency formation commissions; we put on representatives of the public, the state, and the local areas. We did not have to put on local and state areas, we could find someone who has a local background and is now working for the federal government and combine the best of both with this change of attitude. I think it is just a matter of realizing and accepting certain things such as fragmentation. Then we see fragmentation and segregation in communities as a positive rather than a negative thing.

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WHAT IS THE POSSIBILITY OF INTEGRATING WHAT WE CALL A BASIN AREA?

SCAG in itself provides a hugh coordinating device. There are two kinds of planning. First is micro (small scale) which I think should be done by somebody down here. Somebody who is high up cannot do it for everybody. If these little people get slaughtered by a super agency then they really aren't having their views carried forth. I frankly think we have got to do a couple of other things so that when we talk about this matter of economic forces somehow we tie in the financial community with our planning activities. I think you can make all the plans you want but unless you have the business community and economic forces with you or you know what they are, you are lost. I have a lot of confidence in existing governments working together through some overall arrangement and really getting at some of these problems.

If you really want to change the trend, you have got to get elected to public office where you really get the pressures from all the people. Then you find out that you can only move along as rapidly as the city as a whole or the country as a whole is willing to move.

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AFTERNOON SESSION

Chairman: Mrs. Loring

As this morning's speakers were introduced, I was suddenly aware that in our planning we had separated the politically expert, experienced people from the academically expert, experienced people. Then, very carefully, academic backgrounds of the political officials were noted. Now, here we are with a panel of faculty members; and I am sure that Dr. Freedman, who will chair the panel, will tell you of their experiential backgrounds and their practical experience. So you see, the division was not necessarily logical.

Now I want to introduce Dr. Leonard Freedman to you. He is both Acting Director of University Extension and lecturer in political science at UCLA. Dr. Freedman was graduated from London University with a bachelor of science degree in economics and then received his MA and PhD Degrees in political science here at UCLA. From 1952 to 1955, he was associated with the American Library Association. During this time, he established programs in the liberal arts in this area as well as in many other states. I suspect that many of you are familiar with those programs, for University Extension is still presenting a number of similar ones. Since 1955, he has been a member of the staff of University Extension where his special interests have continued to be in the expansion of the liberal arts and the social sciences. He has a number of publications to his credit, including *Issues of the Sixties*. Currently, he is the editor of a series of books on social science concerns. Dr. Freedman will be the moderator of this afternoon's panel.

Dr. Freedman . . . . .

THE SCHOLARS' CONTRIBUTION

You notice these tables are arranged to give a feeling that open space is undesirable, to give a sense of urban congestion, and also to avoid any hint that there might be a credibility gap between the views of the panelists. Because of the pressure of time, these gentlemen won't regard me as excessively discourteous if I make the introductions very brief. As you heard, this is to be the scholars' contribution. All of them have extensive and enormously impressive academic records and lists of publications at least as long as these two tables combined. Also, they all have had years of experience as consultants to governmental agencies and to industry. As was suggested, they are all politicians in one way or another.

I will limit myself here, however, only to mentioning their present positions. From my right, there is Professor Bonham Campbell who is an Associate Professor of Engineering at UCLA, Coordinator of the Engineering Executive Program, and Head of the Regional Planning Laboratory - all in the College of Engineering. Next to him is Professor Garrett Eckbo. (I'll deviate from my promise not to mention the long list of publications because he is the Eckbo of the Eckbo report.)* He is the Chairman of the Department of Landscape Architecture at the University of California at Berkeley and a resident partner in the firm of Eckbo, Dean, Austin and Williams. Then, to my left is Dr. Werner Hirsch, Professor of Economics and Director of the Institute of Government and Public Affairs at UCLA. Currently he is also a consultant to NASA, the Rand Corporation, and to the Executive Branch of the United States Government. Next to him is Dr. Fred Case, Professor of Real Estate and Urban Land Economics and the Acting Director of the Real Estate Research Program in the Graduate School of Business Administration at UCLA.

This is obviously a very impressive panel, and I am simply going to ask them each in turn to speak very briefly, for about five minutes, to open the discussion. I will pose an ungentlemenly question to them to get off on a negative foot: What is wrong with the planning process? Let us ask Professor Eckbo to give the first response.

PROFESSOR ECKBO

Speaking as a designer, a scholarly designer, I would like to string together some facts which I think are relevant. These are not hard facts like engineers use, but sort of slippery facts like designers use. First is the fact that the physical environment is a four dimensional continuity. That is, it is continuous in space and time around the world through history; and as experience, it is continuous throughout all of our waking lives and possibly in our dreams as well. So, it is an ever-present fact in everyone's life.

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*"Urban-Metropolitan Open Space Study," by Garrett Eckbo for the California State Office of Planning.

We usually measure this environment quantitatively; we rarely evaluate it qualitatively. When we do, we usually think in terms of technical quality. Is it properly put together? We are pretty good at functional quality. Does it work? We are not so good in terms of sensory quality; that is, how does it feel? How does it look? How does it affect us emotionally? These are qualities we have been very careless about. This seems to come from an American attitude toward the environment which is basically exploitive.

Thus, the majority attitude has been that of getting out of the physical landscape whatever we can to take home and put in the bank. It seems to be buttressed by various traditions. One is the admonition in the Bible that God gave man dominion over nature. We have been dominating her ever since. Another is the frontier tradition, the winning of the West, regardless of how much of a mess we make. Still another is the theory of individualism which tends to alienate people from their environment, to set them against it, no matter what the result may be.

These all tend to buttress the commercial, speculative approach which has really ruthlessly exploited the American landscape. Working against that, we have always had a strong conservative minority which has tried to salvage the landscape. As a result, we have an attitude of psychological fragmentation, the existential landscape, which is thought of in disconnected pieces. It is an attitude in which construction represents progress. Open space is a negative void waiting for progress to happen to it. We tend to think in terms of a battle between the exploitive process and the conservation process. This is really a triangle because there is a design process which actually can mediate between them and put them together. Currently, we are in trouble because we are focused on destruction abroad, making it hard to focus on construction at home at the same time.

One typical expression of this whole situation is that there is a total absence of consideration of the quality of the physical environment. In American education, the primary and secondary school students and the college students hear absolutely nothing about any basis for judging the quality of the physical environment. It is not considered a serious subject; it is only for aesthetes and professionals who hope to make money out of it.

So, the decision-making process that shapes this environment and produces the quality we are surrounded by is based largely on economic questions. This dominance of economics is our central principle. Of course, money is important. We realize that. We have been told that several times this morning. But, it is also based on social-political questions which tend to be tied in with economic questions; that is, pressures and demands and so on.

Rarely does this question of quality, of how the landscape feels, enter into the primary decision-making process. It is really outside of the kind of thinking that goes on; and yet this primary process sets the parameters, usually inhibiting and frustrating ones, which determine the quality that can be produced later. Design comes after primary decision-making. Its field is operative or rationalizing or beautifying; that is, making pretty what may have been hard, tough, nasty decisions or viewed as hard-headed, necessary decisions (and they usually are hard headed and often hard-hearted).

Design is low on the totem pole. But these days, planning is big; there is lots of planning going on. In the dictionary, planning and design are synonymous; but in practice, they are not. Because planning as it is done generally deals with the preliminary functional phases of development or of control, it is generally diagrammatic, abstract, and legalistic. It rarely gets down to the questions of precise, specific physical relations which actually determine qualities. As a result, you may have a great plan for a city and end up with an ugly city anyway, even though it may work a little better than if it hadn't been planned.

Quality really only comes from the design process; that is, it comes from a specific process of deciding what shape and arrangement everything should take. This has to be a conscious process. We cannot rely on quality happening automatically by nature or by handicraft anymore because we are an industrial society, and an industrial society does not produce quality automatically. It has to decide it wants to do it.

So, we have the question of analyzing decision-makers; and we have talked about that this morning. Then, there is the question of how we use our design resources, which are really inadequate in terms of the scale of the problems we are beginning to recognize. There are not enough professional designers to go around among all of the real problems, even though designers are still having a hard time keeping busy. We use them in two ways. First, in private practice; this means a constant struggle to get jobs, wasting a lot of time in promotion, keeping the right contacts, being interviewed and all that, causing a great amount of duplication of time. Or, second, we put them in public agencies; and there we tend to make non-designers out of them. They tend to become administrators, supervisors, and "bureaucrats," a nasty word which can be taken in various ways and really describes something that happens to good people in the wrong situation.

There is a kind of theoretical proposition I would like to leave with you. Since the quality of the environment is a continuous experience, the design process it purports to deal with should also be continuous in time and in space. We should really design and organize design by areas and do it in some way which makes it work and makes it focus on the problems. This suggests, theoretically, some sort of marriage between public and private ways of working to stabilize and make more secure the private designers without losing the kind of impetus and inspiration they have or creating another bureaucracy, which none of us would like.

DR. FREEDMAN

Well, as Professor Eckbo indicated, he speaks the language of slippery facts as against the hard facts of engineering. Let us see if, in fact, we discover hard facts with Professor Campbell.

PROFESSOR CAMPBELL

Not until this moment did I realize that "hard facts" were to be my special responsibility. Moreover I am not sure that I know how to tell whether or not the facts I want to offer are hard. I shall try to divert attention from my uncertainty, however, be recalling the question asked earlier by our moderator: "What is wrong with planning?" I shall risk giving too simplified and generalized an answer to this challenging question and say that too many people leave it to the professional experts. Planning for our urban areas is much too important for that. If this be so, what then can the "non-experts" do about it? What can be the role of the non-expert, the citizen, or the resident? In an attempt to answer such questions, let me recall a few remarks made this morning, develop some propositions from them, and then support the propositions with some examples of participation in planning by "non-expert" citizens.

Professor Bollens described decision-making for planning as a multi-centered process in which many independent groups interact. Some of these groups represent private interests, others speak for the public. They operate at national, state, and local levels. They interact through processes of negotiation, bargaining, maneuvering, and accommodation. The obvious nature of these four processes clearly implies that relationships and interactions among the groups is anything but clear and smooth. Many of the groups appear to have equal amounts of authority and responsibility. No one of them can identify another six, say, that it can dominate or overrule, nor will it, in turn, volunteer to be dominated by others.

Dr. Bollens also reminded us that control over land use is a power vital to planning and that it belongs to local governments. Mayor Spear reminded us that planning is embedded in the political process and told how small groups of citizens have been influential in a political decision process. She observed that, generally speaking, the residents of a community have a low rate of participation in planning, regardless of how you define and measure it. She also implied, I thought, that citizens participate only through appointed commissions and committees that have been recognized or established by the local government. Her remarks about the critical need for more dialogs between the elected leaders and the led completed her outline of how citizens can, and sometimes do participate in planning.

Mr. Simpson made an especially significant contribution when he answered the question, "Who makes the decisions?" by saying, "It all depends." He gave a number of examples to show why it all depends on the particular situation.

His answer seems to me an apt and concise conclusion for the remarks offered by Dr. Bollens and Mayor Spear.

As for the general concept of citizen participation, I am well aware that it is often discounted as a theory of dreamers or dismissed as an impractical fantasy of do-gooders. Some of my own experiences and observations lead me to suspect, however, that some of those who discount citizen participation either distrust it or feel threatened by it. I sense that they would like to believe that it is not effective or that it is too costly. But citizen participation has worked in practice, though the requirements for success are high. One essential prerequisite is personal commitment by informed citizens. Another is a source of funds to acquire professional and technical assistance for the group of "non-expert" citizens. Yet another is some applied group dynamics to enable the citizens and the experts to learn how to talk and listen to each other, first, just within their own groups, and then all together.

We have a local example of a beginning effort in citizen participation, namely, the Goals and Objectives Program which the City and Regional Planning Departments are supporting in the Destination 90 Project. The mere existence of this program is in itself encouraging. True, the program is controversial. Nor can anyone yet assume at this point that it may not fail. On the other hand, it has attracted widespread interest among citizen groups and, so far, it has received steady, if modest financing. If both kinds of support can be maintained and strengthened, and if the program gets a few lucky breaks in unforseeable and change events, then I believe that enventually it will lead to significant improvements in the planning process for Los Angeles.

A personal experience suggests this last conclusion. It happened many years ago while I belonged to several community organizations that formed when some residents of the San Fernando Valley became outraged over re-zoning decisions by the city fathers downtown. We protested violently; we organized and reorganized; we held mass meetings and attended hearings; but the net result of five or six years of effort was that we lost most of the battles. Nevertheless, somewhat by chance we accomplished something that passed almost unnoticed at the time. On one occasion, when, as usual, the decision of the City Council went against us, we felt so strongly outraged that a half-dozen of us somehow managed this time immediately to get in to see the Mayor. Figuratively speaking, we pounded his desk a little. We ended by asking him why he would not appoint a more representative planning commission, one with some members who were not connected with real-estate development. We must have impressed the Mayor, because soon thereafter he asked the heads of local universities and professional societies for nominations, and sometime later we appointed a highly respected man to the Planning Commission. This man was one of the first professional persons to serve on the Commission, at least for a long, long time. After repeated rebuffs over several years, he ultimately succeeded in getting research recognized in the budget of the City Planning Department. Money - a small amount to begin with to be true - was made available for the first time for research and long-range planning. Today the City Planning Department is able to mount a number of projects of research and long-range planning, among them being Destination 90 and the Goals and Objectives Program.

I can offer an example of more direct citizen participation in the planning process, from personal observations and study in Honolulu over the last several years. This example deals with participation in development of a university-community plan for three small communities adjacent to or close to the University of Hawaii. All three were well-established with statuses quo that satisfied most residents. Only in one or two small areas could new houses be built. One of the communities is no larger than three square miles. When I first became acquainted with it in 1964, traffic on many of its streets had become congested at rush hours and was becoming heavier as the University began to expand. Parking on campus was another problem spilling over into the community. Any number of solutions were proposed at random but with little effect. In 1964, however, two citizen planning committees were established for the three communities with help and financial assistance from a county-wide non-profit citizen organization financed by local business leaders and known as the ODC (for Oahu Development Conference).

One of the first requirements that the two planning committees decided to meet was for continuing interchange of information between the planning committees and every resident in their respective communities. School children were organized to distribute free newsletters. The newsletters publicized the membership of the committees and what they were doing. In two years of frequent meetings, the committees survived many arguments and controversies, some almost violent. At times it seemed as if a committee would fall apart, but eventually members came to understand and work with each other. Through the assistance of professional experts provided by the ODC they learned what the planning process was all about and how to become a part of it.

Further description of the committees and its work would not be relevant. Let me skip to a specific outcome which deals with physical planning; namely, the preparation of a new street plan for one community. Residents struggled hard on their street and traffic problems. They even had to make traffic counts on some of their streets to fill in gaps they discovered in existing data and to resolve for themselves some of the conflicts and inconsistencies they also uncovered. At any rate, eventually they put together a plan of their own for revision of the community's land use and street patterns. The City Traffic Department meanwhile had developed recommendations for bringing many of the principal streets up to its new standards for widths of rights-of-way, pavements, and sidewalks. The community pointed out many spots in which the sweeping changes proposed by the Traffic Department would destroy front lawns of homes and take out many trees and shrubs essential to the "livability" of an established community. The confrontation between the community and the Traffic Department came in the summer of 1966, when the City Planning Commission held eleven regular or special sessions to consider revision of the old street plan for this one community covering no more than three square miles. At issue were 31 important individual decisions. The final result: the City Traffic Department won 12; the community won 17. In the other 2 cases, the Planning Commission introduced its own solution. The batting average for the community therefore was over 50 percent and this is first-rate in my experience. Ultimately the City Council approved these 31 recommendations with only minor changes. Thus did one community find out how to participate in the urban planning process, all the way to and through a political decision-process involving negotiation, accommodation and compromise.

I realize that we cannot take the man-hours and costs of successful citizens participation for 3 square miles, multiply them by 150 and expect to achieve a similar kind of success in the City of Los Angeles. Even if this kind of "hard-fact" extrapolation could be proved valid, the vast sums of man-hours and dollars required would greatly exceed the resources available for dealing with our urban problem. Perhaps, however, I can offer some "long-range" hope in the form of an analogy with our national space effort. Whether or not one agrees with the priority given this effort and its objectives, I think we must agree that it has been successful in terms of achieving its missions within given amounts of manpower and money. But remember that this program achieved its first successes with small, short-range rockets. In the beginning, the amounts of manpower and dollars per successful flight were enormous. Thus to complete the analogy, the few examples of successful citizen participation in planning - isolated, small-scale, and costly thought they may be - could be viewed as experimental stages or prototypes, from which we might hope to develop effective programs in the coming decade. Absolutely essential, however, will be an unwillingness among many, but not necessarily a majority of urban residents to leave planning to the experts, a readiness for personal commitment of time and thought, and a demand for greater allocations of resources to complete, comprehensive urban planning.

"Who makes the decisions?" "It all depends." Citizens have participated successfully in urban planning. Depending on their own priorities and decisions, citizens in more communities could come to say, "We are an effective part of our urban planning process."

DR. FREEDMAN

I have a suspicion, Professor Eckbo, that is not the answer you expected to get from the engineer. It is an odd sort of thing. . . but Professor Campbell's views sound more like those slippery facts you were talking about, Dr. Hirsch. . . .

DR. HIRSCH

Let us remind ourselves that we mainly are concerned with planning the life of our urban population, particularly tomorrow's population. To do so, the planner needs to be aware of people's desires; and he is hard pressed to know what the people want. I believe he is even more hard pressed to play God and to decide what the people should want. Yet if we believe in planning, both of these are necessary; and I think they have to be emphasized. Therefore, we need a better means of understanding people's desires in terms of urban life and form, better perception, and astute appraisal of desires and intensities. For example, would they want these services if they had to pay for them? And how much would they be willing to pay?

We need greater wisdom in playing God and yet should do it as sparingly as possible. Here are two examples. First, we often plan for urban public services which are offered free, or at least below the market clearing prices, to be paid through taxes. As a result, there is an excess in demand. This often leads to some rationing; then, acrimonious charges of shortages fly followed by alarming views set forth in speeches. I submit that to this problem there is no easy solution. It makes the proper comprehension of people's desires difficult. Therefore, we have to work harder to understand them.

The second is the effect of the lack of amenities and the overcrowded cities' lack of aesthetic expression; all this is a common lament. However, we might be interpreting the lament incorrectly. Who is dissatisfied? The upper and the upper-middle classes? Perhaps the bulk of the people couldn't care less, and they won't vote into existence funds that would take care of this matter. To boot, those who do lament usually are well-off. Although they are do-gooders, they are well-off and able to take care of these problems themselves. They do so by moving into beautiful homes close to where they work and travel in private cars at off-peak hours whenever possible.

Here are some criticisms. First, we don't pay enough attention to the desires of the people; we don't work hard enough to get their demand signals. The second is that the planner is doing a poor job of leading the community. (By the way, I'm coming up with some negative comments; I hope to supplement them with some positive, constructive ones as well.) Third, the planner is doing a poor job of judiciously evaluating alternative plans in the light of their implications. He is not using such devices as program budgeting, and benefit cost analysis - not analysis in general and not analysis that reflects the potential gains and losses of specified interest groups--yet results would have a bearing on their vote, directly or indirectly.

Altogether, there is too much evidence that comprehensive planning in the City of Los Angeles is poor and grossly inadequate. Unless some major improvements - perhaps even drastic improvements - take place very soon, I don't see how we will have a master plan and the necessary zoning ordinances in force three or even five years from now.

Well, what steps can we take? I am not going to cover all of them, but I would like to suggest just a few. Planning has to be more realistic; and incentives, which are consistent with our people's behavior and motivation, have to be utilized more fully. Don't forget that ultimately people are seeking rewards. If plans are inconsistent with a person's desire and reward structure, we are not going to succeed in planning a new environment.

Two, (and this might seem to some of you a bit extraneous, but I don't think it is) we need a "power elite" who can take a good plan and sell it to the city council. We don't have one in Los Angeles.

Three, we have to work harder at planning. This means a better planning commission and planning department, with an improvement both quantitatively and qualitatively in the work done by the latter. I would like to suggest that serious consideration be given by the city council to appoint a distinguished board of visitors, a kind of advisory committee, who would spend at least two weeks in this city reviewing the planning objectives, scope, and quality of work. At this moment, planning interests are badly unbalanced. On the executive side, we have a well-staffed C.A.O. Office. We have an appointed planning commission; we have a department that is basically part of the executive branch of city government. But what does the city council have? Something is needed to insure the proper evaluation of programs so they are started and cut off at the right time and so the right quality will be pursued. We need a well-balanced, distinguished group such as a few people from foundations, a few active commissioners, and one or two outstanding planners from the national scene. I think this would serve to insulate the planning commission and the department; it would also raise the general level of dialog, particularly in conjunction with my second proposal--that a distinquished "power elite" carry the ball and implement proposals.

Finally, we need to initiate a more systematic look into the future. To this end, I propose the establishment of what might be called a "Los Angeles Lookout Station." The station would have a three-fold task. One, it would scan the horizon and identify new goals and directions. Thus, it would become aware of coming opportunities, including technological ones--the problems and their potential solutions. Two, once goals, problems, and potential solutions are identified, the station would try to forge specific programs to be considered. There should always be more than one choice, and a trade-off dialog, producing alternatives for the mayor, departments of the city, the city council, and private enterprise. Three, the station would consider the various means by which such programs might be administered in the expected future environment. I think this Lookout Station could make use of existing ad hoc, embryonic goal efforts referred to be earlier speakers.

Let me conclude on a somewhat optimistic note, yet a bit facetious. Just as ivy is the architect's best friend and covers bad design, the planner's best friend is man himself. His resiliency and ability to put up with different environments, environments that sometimes appear to offer extremely bad man-made environments, appears to be virtually unlimited.

DR. FREEDMAN

Having heard from our economist--who has certainly given us a many-faceted view--we now ask Dr. Fred Case, our specialist in real estate and urban land economics, to conclude the panel presentations.

DR. CASE

By way of introduction, I want to explain I am going to take a certain refuge in academic freedom and define academic freedom as the freedom never to practice what I preach. I say that in the light of having spent four years on a commission where we had to take action and arrange such problems as how to react to the Bel Air fire, the Baldwin Hills Dam problem, and the question of a hotel room having three or four outlets. We debated, discussed and reviewed more than we acted.

In looking over this whole spectrum of activities, the thing that came through to me after hearing the people who have spoken here today and at previous meetings of this nature is that I am not too sure that the people speaking for open space are really convinced it is worth it. I say this because everybody seems to agree on what should be done. Mr. Eckbo's report is one of a series of very good reports we have had over the years on the value of preserving open space and how we should go about it. However, I also find an unwillingness to carry through on any programs for preserving open space. I say this because of my four years of working with the city council and public politicians, I have found the decision process a most amazing one in the public sector and a process that produces action only occassionally and slowly.

If you have to make a hard choice on something like open space, here are the things you can do. First, you can talk it to death. Then, you can ask for a series of expert opinions. Or, you can define it away. You can hold a series of public hearings. You can appoint committees to study the problem until the problem is dead. You can ask for large bodies of people to come to a common agreement. You can shove it off on someone else. You can wait until you get more evidence on which to act. Or, you can have a series of conferences. So, my first point is that: if you really believe in open space, then why in the world aren't you doing something about it instead of just talking about it? As the British say, "The Americans plan a problem to death; but the British just jump in, solve it and then ask how they did it."

The second question I think should be asked is: "is there any reason for municipal invidibitity? Why shouldn't some of these smaller cities simply agree that they are not economic units? They are powerless units. Then powers are too small and should be joined together. In other words, their problems are economic and they transcend the political boundaries of these commmunities. So, why don't they eliminate the political boundaries since they will never eliminate the economic problems until they do? For the 45 cities in Los Angeles County the basic problem is that the sources of revenue do not match the sources of expenditures. The problem is primarily a function of the political boundaries. Our urban space use problems cross the political boundaries, and we must face up this fact before any of our economic problems can be solved successfully.

The next thing is that we have never planned in Southern California; we do not plan now. All we do is react. I certainly saw that when one of our speakers said he was going to speak spontaneously about planning. I think we have no planned cities for one example. Our planning, such as is done, (as Mrs. Spear brought out) is done through such programs designed to meet our water supply problems. For example, we can point to our water supply system as one great thing that happened to Los Angeles; and yet, when I look at the map of Los Angeles, I think it is one of the worst things that could have happened. The peculiar boundaries of many cities in Los Angeles County can be traced to attempts to solve water districting problems. We fail to realize the full implication of both sides of many complex problems since simple solutions seem to produce cheap apparently effective answers.

This reminds me of the fact that everybody says you should be for motherhood; and they say everybody is for mother. But we sometimes forget that if we are for motherhood, then we are against virginity. So, there are two sides to every question.

Why is it that in our planning we are always surprised by growth? Whenever I catch a Californian outside of this state, he is boasting about the growth of his state. Yet when I hear the people talking about planning and the use of open space, they seem to be terribly surprised that growth is removing open space. Why don't we face up to this? Again, why should we preserve the waste and the frustrations of duplicative government which complicates the efforts to preserve open space and the solutions to many kinds of urban problems.

We don't seem to realize that one of the major urban problems today is in the duplication of government. If we could recognize, for example, that each city probably has some comparative advantage and attempt to maximize this, instead of duplicating what everybody else has, we would be better off. In dealing with the citizens group and trying to get a state mountain park here, one interesting thing I noted was that every little city was quite willing to sacrifice the chance for a large park, an aid to the region, in favor of a postage-stamp park. The politicians could point to the small park in his district as an accomplishment in the field of recreation when reelection time came. The Lakewood Plan, for instance, is an imaginative approach; but here, there was a failure to recognize that such a plan leads to fragmentation, duplication, and unnecessary political units. Specialization of urban activities and sharing of some facilities and services can work if properly implemented.

Another thing I have noticed is that every speaker has been fully aware of the dimensions of the open-space problem and the rate at which we are losing open-space. The question which remains unanswered is, "what are we going to do with all this knowledge?" We have not yet learned an effective way of using what we know. Deep down, I wonder whether or not all these people, who are coming up with all these plans, have thought about the total problem and the plight of the fragmented taxpayer. Even though each planner talks about the plans of federal, state, county, or city government, in the end only one taxpayer pays for all of the plans that are adopted. It would be nice, somehow, if all these groups which say they know they should get together would get together and for once help not only the poor taxpayer, but also themselves by producing coherent, organized, unitary planning.

One final observation is that apparently we all agree open space is good business. As I listen to the arguments for open space, I recall the arguments that were made in terms of getting mountain park legislation through the California State Legislature. The statement was repeated continuously, that parks were good business and it proved an open sesame to securing broad support for mountain parks. The discussions today make it clear that some people were going to make money from open space and many more will profit from open space programs if we are really going to begin thinking about how to solve our problems (and I'm using open space merely as an example), then why don't we try to bring this fact home - open space costs. It is going to cost for whatever kind of space we get, but it is going to make money. Why don't we try to do as suggested by Professor Hirsch? Why don't we try to do a little costing, relating it to benefits, and bring the message home to the people that the things we believe in are good and true, worthwhile and profitable, instead of leaving the question of open space to the ethereal realms of aesthetics? I think aesthetics is good business and can be made to pay if we just put it in those terms. There is no reason to apologize for wanting an oak shrouded, tree-lined brook that babbles along. It can be made good business if, for example, several restaurants attract business simply by artificial, man-made brooks. Look at Walt Disney and what he has managed to do in creating artificial space! He made open space pay!

Finally, then, I wish to reinforce something that Professor Hirsch has said; and that is, "as we look at the great cities of the world which have open space, we realize that open space has never been created by planning or by democratic vote." Marie Antoinette wanted an open park in Parks and created Tuileries. We can look at other cities where the open space was created by some dictator, king, or someone with authority saying that this is what we must have and this is what we are going to get.

If we really believe in open space and understand what we believe in, we should be quite willing to pay the price for it. We should understand the benefits involved, and then we should go ahead and obtain the open space we want. If such action means that we are not elected to the council next week or to the state legislature next month or not reappointed to a commission, fine! If the public benefits, then maybe a little personal loss won't hurt.

DR. FREEDMAN

Well, I asked a simple question: "What is wrong with the planning process?" I got more than just what was wrong. In addition, we heard many suggestions as to what might be done about it, ranging from proposals of shifting the design element up the scale of priorities by introducing it earlier in the planning process to, as Dr. Case suggested, finding ways of making design profitable as well as desirable. From Bohnam Campbell, we have the idea of citizen participation as being a major emphasis for the future. Dr. Hirsch didn't quarrel with the desirability of citizen participation, but he thought that, if we are to get anything done, we need a power elite. However, many people say that this is exactly what is wrong with our cities. Really, Dr. Hirsch is trying to say that the problem is we don't have the right kind of power elite. He also suggests attempting to diagnose and understand people's desires and then provide incentives consistent with those desires. He thought a systematic look into the future through a Los Angeles Lookout Station would be desirable. Dr. Case suggested fewer conferences and fewer political boundaries, and in this way, we will find powerful vested interest.

Here are just a few of the many suggestions that have been made. They raise many issues, and I am sure they would keep the panel busy discussing them for many hours. But we only have a very few minutes, and I would like to give you a chance to get into this act. You have sat patiently listening to the speakers from the platform all morning and thus far this afternoon. I think probably you have an idea or two that you would like to contribute, or a question or two that you would like to raise. The floor is yours.

Question requesting further information about Distinguished Visitors Board.

DR. HIRSCH

Most larger cities have established a group; the Committee of 100 in Philadelphia, Civic Progress in St. Louis, and so on. These should be groups that really draw on the best of the community but are also fully representative in terms of political parties, in terms of outlook, and interests. I don't think that it is so hard to define what it should be. I think that it is more difficult finding an instrument to bring it about in this community. I am deeply convinced that many of the ills are the direct result of the absence of this kind of a group which can articulate and somehow be the ultimate vehicle in influencing the political process and voter.

Question regarding potential extraordinary powers.

DR. HIRSCH

Extraordinary powers? No, as a matter of fact, I would say they should have no formal powers. Civic Progress, a group that I have worked with very closely for a number of years, is on a subrosa basis; they are not known. You want people who can implement plans, because of their position in the community.

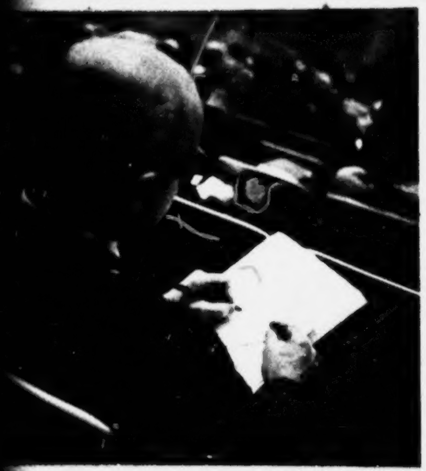
I have great faith in the city council, and therefore I am proposing a Board of Visitors of Distinguished People from outside the community. There could be institutions that would be asked to make recommendations of some sort, but I do not believe that much politics needs to come in here. I might be wrong. Again, it seems to me worth gambling.

DR. FREEDMAN

Do any of our other panelists have comments on either of these two proposals: the Distinguished Visitors or the Distinguished Power Elite?

PROFESSOR ECKBO

I wonder if Dr. Hirsch would agree that the "power elite" should either participate in or be preceded by a dialog with the citizens such as they have in Philadelphia? This would lay the groundwork for public understanding in the redesigning of the city. What you said about the lower two-thirds probably not sharing our feelings as to the ugliness of the city is perhaps a result of not knowing what the alternatives are and not having any particular grounding or education in this area. As people can only choose between known alternatives, the only people who can present unknown alternatives are planners and designers and such who are able to formulate then and visualize them. Just as any designer works better with a good client with whom he has give-and-take during the design process, redesign and replanning of a city should also work better with the clientele. This is, of course, much more complicated to organize.



DR. HIRSCH

You said it very well. I hope the universities can play a major role, particularly by producing background information. We might want to have a group of people who would be publicly identified as being especially concerned with the problems of the urban center, representing business, labor, professions, community, and educational leaders and who would give their time, efforts, and interests to this problem. This group would really represent power and a variety of interests in the community.

DR. CASE

May I add one point to that. At the moment, I think that one of the problems of the planning process in the Los Angeles Region is that conscious planning doesn't begin at a high enough level. You spoke of implementation. This comes at a later stage. I am thinking of the beginning steps which perhaps are not directly related to physical planning. It is the determination of goals and objectives, conscious determination. I would probably have an objection to the "power elite" group unless its addition also entailed a better and more valid determination of goals and objectives.

Let me be specific. A sociologist by the name of Rainwater pulled together a number of studies which were extremely interesting. One of the findings that he made was that most of the planning being done in cities is being done by people who have middle-class and possibly upper-class backgrounds and values. If any of these people ever were exposed to lower-class values, lower socioeconomic class values, they had forgotten it. Out of his findings, I have drawn this conclusion:

> Suppose you were a planning commission making a decision about planning and you had to decide upon a new housing development (a new housing project) for the lowest group of the low socio-economic people in the city. What would be your number one goal for that housing development? What would be your objective for the project? Nobody in the middle-class audience has even mentioned the goal that Rainwater found as the number one goal. They didn't just rank the objectives in the wrong order; they didn't even

mention it. This goal was protection, physical protection against animals as well as against human beings. Nobody in the middle-class, least of all myself, could really generate this kind of a goal out of our own experience.

This raises two questions. One, the one I mentioned earlier; namely, the necessity for citizen participation. Second, begin the planning process and repeat it over and over again but always include a comprehensive broad determination of goals and objectives. However, this will bring up groups of objectives that are conflicting and inconsistent; but here, the political processes of negotiation, compromise, accommodation, and so on need to be brought into play. Without this, we are always going to be ignoring parts of our population. And before I could support a "power elite" group, I would have to have this as a necessary first step.

DR. FREEDMAN

I would like to respond to the request for further citizen participation in this audience; but I have to respond to our own "power elite" running this program and close this part of it, so that we can move on to the next section. Let me express my appreciation to you and to our panel of Professors Campbell, Case, Eckbo, and Hirsch for a very productive session.

Chairman: Mrs. Loring

Thank you very much, Dr. Freedman and panel. You have presented us with so many proposals that I think we are all beginning to sense the alternative patterns are part of some master "game." Obviously, we will have to select the next piece and then decide where to place it. Thank you for describing so clearly the possible approaches for our moves.

At this time, we have asked two of our professional planners to comment upon the priorities which you, our participants, have given to them. They have spent this past hour reading your reaction sheets covering the results of your after-lunch discussion groups. They will spend the next twenty minutes not only reviewing and summarizing, but commenting upon your conclusions.

We are fortunate to have two exceptionally qualified planners in our area. (I presume that most of you know them; so, their introductions will be brief.) First, on my near right, is Mr. Calvin Hamilton, Director of the Los Angeles City Planning Department and formerly Executive Director of the Pittsburgh Department of City Planning. Mr. Hamilton has had wide experience as a teacher and in the field of planning. He holds the degree of Master of City Planning from Harvard, and he is a member of the American Institute of Planners, the American Society of Landscape Architects, and an honorary associate member of the American Institute of Architects.

On the far side is Mr. Milton Breivogel, the Director of Planning of the Regional Planning Commission for the County of Los Angeles. As you saw on the map early this morning, this is a tremendous area for planning; and Mr. Breivogel has one of the largest planning staffs in the country. In addition, he lectures at USC for the Department of Public Administration. He is a member of many distinguished groups and has received many awards. Now, we will hear your comments through the summaries.

Mr. Hamilton . . . . .

THE CITIZENS REPORT

I wish we had been here to hear all the academic speakers; I find they are a great stimulus to we poor public servants. In tackling the first question, you were asked to discuss what you consider to be the three most important decision areas relative to physical planning in Los Angeles County. The interesting thing to me was that your answers were not limited to physical planning.

In your answers to the question, we tried to rank them according to the number of times they appeared on the questionnaires. The one way out and above all others was "cooperation and coordination in governmental levels of decision-making." At what level should decision-making relative to physical planning address itself? Then, the second area of concern was "transportation." The third point was primarily concerned with "regional growth patterns"; and a number of comments amplifying the problems of handling growth as it occurred were supplemental to this point - "how to guide growth and how to provide alternatives to lines of growth." Another third ranking point was "community goals - the development and the determination of community goals." Those two were third in the hierarchy of ranking your answers. Then fourth were a number of items dealing with citizen participation and the problems of getting citizens to participate in political and planning decisions such as in the problem of segregation or integration in housing, the cause of the problems in physical planning, the problem of reclamation, and the problems of water and air pollution and waste disposal of various kinds.

Then, on down the line I will just go through some of the other items listed as principal problems which include the following: "a policy of taxation," "matters of training and education" (one group put these down), "communications - to the public and between the public and public officials" (three groups noted this), "density control - just how much population there should be" (also noted by three groups), the matter of "economic goals for the metropolitan region as a whole," "assessment practices and policies as they effect physical planning," "waste management," "open space and recreation" (it's interesting that only three groups ranked these as among their principal problems or decision areas), "renewal of the total quality of our physical environment," "financial arrangements for handling the way in which physical planning can be accomplished," the matter of "conservation" in the broadest sense, and "implementation" (two groups noted this one). So, these were principally again, far and above, the most important issues in terms of decision areas relative to physical planning that are considered to be the governmental levels of decision-making. Finally, the two basic arguments extracted from your lists were 1.) cooperation and coordination - how it should be handled and 2.) transportation - how mass transit should be dealt with.

Almost every one of these questionnaires made reference in one way or another to transportation, the determination of the urban form, and the means of communication or lack of communication existing between different levels of government and between government and people. Of course, these things concern the planner, too. Who really determines the urban form? How are we going to determine urban form in the future? To what extent does mass transportation influence it or visa versa? To what extent will land use, the use of land, determine urban form and who should determine it? Should the planner say first that this is the way it is going to be with the transportation system following and adjusting to this urban form, or should transportation come first with urban form following and becoming a part of this process. I was surprised that more people did not indicate the "assessment policy," the assessment of land policy, as a major problem. And there weren't too many people concerned with taxation policies as a major problem. Yet I think that both of these are very important policy determinations, policy problems, that enter into the urban picture as we are discussing it this afternoon.

Wouldn't you agree that Mayor Spear pinpointed some of the principal problems affecting decisions in planning this morning? I thought it was an excellent recitation.

Mr. Breivogel will handle the second question.

MR. BREIVOGEL

If you remember correctly, the question was this: (realistically considering the matter and then mutual backscratching) which decisions in planning are made by city councils and boards of supervisors? What are the specific changes needed to produce more effective decisions in the next five years?

Some of these answers are very very good, but I wonder at the rate we move in government whether or not we can accomplish some of these. For instance, one answer that appeared often was elect councilman and supervisors at large rather than have them elected by districts where they feel obligated to a constituency within that district. If you elect them at large, they will put the whole county or the whole city first rather than the constituency of a given or specific district. I conclude from this answer that a legislator's first responsibility, whether councilman or supervisor, is to the local area, and the other fourteen councilmen, in the case of the city, or four supervisors, in the case of the county, look to him for guidance in voting on a particular planning matter.

Another suggestion was to rearrange the government structure so as to have viable regional government; and then, improve SCAG by giving it more authority so that it can be made representational government. I wonder whether or not a metropolitan government or a SCAG can have much influence upon these decisions that are made locally regarding land use and some of these other problems.

There are many other problems with which city councilmen and boards of supervisors are concerned. Here is one we have been reading a great deal about at the federal level - campaign funding. We should have public financing of campaigns by supervisors or city councilmen, so that they are not dependent upon contributions from various sources. I suppose the inference is that the recipient of these contributions feels a responsibility of these contributors.

Also, there was a suggestion that there should be a greater exposure of plans to the community before decisions are made. In other words, we ought to involve the community more in planning. I think this is possible when you are talking about a broad general plan for a city or a broad general plan for a county. But, how are you going to involve a large segment of the community when you are talking about a zone change of a single lot or the variance for a filling station on a particular corner. You may involve the people in the neighborhood; and, of course, you do. For instance, if the Regional Planning Association existed, it would be difficult to involve them in every single zone change or every single decision that a planning commission or a city council or a board of supervisor was going to make.

Then, it was suggested that there be better analysis of explicit alternatives. In other words, it is presumed that planning agencies do not consider alternatives when they are considering these matters. Actually, they do; but, of course, the people really only hear about the final decision that is arrived at. Another suggestion was for stronger planning authority. Therefore, the responsibility of the planning agency should be broadened, giving it greater authority. This has great merit. Then, too, there should be consolidation of small local governing units. At the county planning level, we must attempt to bring about greater coordination of planning agencies and of planning between cities in order to avoid conflicts between the cities and make them more aware of what is happening in areas, in regions, and in the county.

There ought to be a reliable information system for evaluating the implications of decisions. I think that is a good suggestion. Then, we need more professional planning combined with a public educated for urban living. I presume such people are talking here about the fact that we don't really understand what the urban problems are. It's true; we don't understand the problems that we face in a large urban metropolitan area such as this.

I cannot help but feel there is a definite need for more professionalism in planning at the staff level. We need to educate more planners, and this is not being done. We had a very interesting session Thursday night on this very subject. The planning schools are not producing enough planners to staff the departments as they expand.

The idea of affecting attitudinal changes for communications and education is a rather sophisticated one. I think it is a goal that private citizens and organizations could perhaps pursue more effectively, and I hope the Regional Planning Association might take on a role similar to this.

There should be greater professionalism, and there should be functional consolidation. This is a subject that hasn't been discussed a great deal here today. Rather than consolidation of governments, what about functional consolidation - consolidating all the planning functions into one large planning agency? Is that a possibility? Or are we speaking of functional consolidation of other activities of government?

Another suggestion here is that too many changes should not be made until SCAG and RPA can develop efficient and effective operations. Well, that is good; but I think it will take a little time to accomplish this goal. In the meantime, Los Angeles County is adding on 135,000 people a year, and they need to be assimilated. I think changes are inevitable; and I do think it is our responsibility to meet those challenges.

Here is a very interesting comment. It says planning ought to be made a part of political platforms. When you hear a political campaign speech, how many of you hear much about planning or hear supervisors and city councilmen running for office arguing "I stood for strong planning, a strong planning department, a strong planning commission"? Yet I think it is a tremendously effective political tool. A smart politician should use planning as a major plank in his platform.

In effect, madame chairman, those are the answers to the questions assigned to me.

IN ANSWER TO QUESTIONS . . . .

MR. HAMILTON:

I would only make one comment on the matter of reliable information systems to show implications of decisions. I feel this is one of the most important issues. I might add that one of the things I hope to be able to achieve, after developing and completing a master plan in this city by 1970, is an "urban physical decision model" which we can put in a war room of the city hall. We can have seats all around it. It would be a "physical model" connected with our mathematical model program, our simulation program, and our data base. And, through television screens, its walls would have the ability to project and anticipate what would happen. If, for example, you had five alternatives locations for a freeway, this "physical model" would show what would happen in the city five years hence. Then, it could show the amount of people that would be moved, the changes in the tax rate, the changes in the income to the city, the changes in business locations etc.

We hope to get a HUD grant to do this. We don't know how to do it; but I am convinced that the same kind of "decision model" and the implications need to be granted and put before the decision-makers so that they can see, as most politicians do not have time to read long reports. They need either to have it summarized before them or to see or hear the implications. It seems to me this kind of a "decision model" would help considerably those who have such an enormous task as do the city councilmen.

Actually, we hope UCLA will join with us, HUD, and a couple of other groups, like the Department of Defense.

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MR. HAMILTON:

If you recall, Question No. 3 was: What comments and/or suggestions would you make regarding coordination of decisions by special districts and separate agencies; such as, the Flood Control District, the Metropolitan Water

District, the Boards of Education, and the federal and state programs with regional county or local plans?

Actually, the proposals are quite similar to those under Question No. 2 and are as follows: better systems of management, better information, better data, the role of SCAG, the restructuring of official governmental agencies and RPA as a citizens group, eventually resturcturing Los Angeles - somewhat like greater London or Toronto metropolitan governments, better information dissemination between the various groups, better coordination between the department heads, a centralized coordinating agency - a strengthening of SCAG over what it presently has, a realignment of physical boundaries (there are a number of suggestions of this kind, closely related to those Mr. Breivogel read for Question No. 2).

The thing that impressed me about the answers was the number of suggested solutions to the different problems. For example, one of the reasons we achieved coordination in Pittsburgh was due to the fact that all the department heads of the principal agencies in the metropolitan area met and reviewed a program of a particular agency or department once a month. I think there is no reason why we couldn't do that here. Perhaps we ought to broaden the Council of Planning, which includes all the planning directors in the area, and invite the other agency heads to meet with us on the development in Los Angeles County and the use of planning officials. I think this would give us some direction and enable us to build on existing situations and improve the present coordination between the agencies. As a number of answers indicated, it is more a matter of communication.

I think Mrs. Spear hit it right on the head when she said that technicians must not be the ultimate decision-makers, and I firmly agree with this. It is the elected official who must help. I disagree with Mr. Hoover who said this morning that, if some city wanted to beautify this concrete box, they could form a local assessment district. The real answer is to make darn sure that the engineers are not the only ones designing it and that you get the public concerned.

Mr. Breivogel just handed the chairmanship of the Civic Center Authority to me. The problem here is that no one agency really wants to subject itself to the scrutiny of other public bodies on how well a particular building is going to be built or its concern for the whole area. They were even unwilling to consider aesthetics in any of the matters brought before this authority.

In reference to Mr. Hirsch's idea of a Board of Visitors, I agree with him. It is an excellent one and so is his proposal for a "power elite." We do hope to accomplish this. We have asked for it through the Goals Program. The Mayor has asked the Board of Education, the Board of Supervisors, the League of California Cities; and he will appoint ten people for each so as to obtain a complete cross section of the decision-makers and power-groups in a private area to evaluate the goals and alternative concepts of the city that will be discussed this fall. I hope this will be the initiation to growth of the kind of group that Mr. Hirsch has indicated, because this is Mr. Breivogel's and my clear contention that we have not had this kind of group. Working in Pittsburgh where we had the Allegheny Conference, it was a tremendous advantage to planning to have such a conference which in fact really did represent it, because the presidents of the corporations were the ones that attended the meetings. The only trouble was that it was not as well rounded as Mr. Hirsch suggested.

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BREIVOGEL:

The question, if you remember, was: How can we bring about coordination that is not by special districts and separate agencies in the Los Angeles Area? I think there is a great deal of coordination, but to consolidate these districts into a single district is extremely difficult. Each one of these districts is run so very very efficiently, and they have done such a satisfactory job as special districts. You really have to have a reason for changing something. Either it is very bad or it is something else. But this is not the case here. The Flood Control District is a tremendously effective district and efficiently operated. The same thing is true for the Metropolitan Water

District. So, in spite of the fact that it might be desirable to have a single operating agency, it is going to be difficult to bring about such a change as long as the present districts are running as efficiently as they are now.

Chairman: Mrs. Loring

Thank you, Mr. Breivogel and Mr. Hamilton. From your reports, it sounds as though enough issues have been raised here to base the content for several additional conferences. It occurred to me during the summary and commentary just given, that our speakers were analyzing on two levels. One of those levels was the topic of concern here – planning for the future. The other is, that since planning decisions must be made every day and the variables are often already recognized, the sheer adoption of a master plan really won't solve all our problems. We are still faced with the questions: Who makes implementing decisions? And how frequently do those participating revise their decisions?

Again, thank you both very much for your energy and agility in collating the recommendations of the participants of this conference and for your own comments and knowledgeable observations.

Now for a very brief introduction of the introducer of our final speaker. It seemed altogether appropriate that we invite the Dean of University Extension to introduce Mayor Naftalin to you since this conference is one of nine University Extension on Urban Governmental Relationships projects which are taking place on the various campuses of the University of California.

Dr. Paul Sheats, Dean of University Extension, is well known to most of you. He has been a force for expanding and enriching adult education opportunities in our community and indeed the country, for a number of years and has so many credits in his list of experiences, community activities and publications that it would consume all of Mayor Naftalin's time to mention them now. Therefore, if it is all right with you, Dean Sheats, without further ado would you introduce Mayor Naftalin?

Dean Sheats . . . . .

THE URBAN FUTURE: CHAOS OR ORDER?

Thank you Roz. First, may I say how much all the delegates to the conference and I appreciate your chairmanship of this session today. Second, I'd like to introduce Mrs. Naftalin, who is here with her husband, and tell her how happy we are that she can be here, too.

I guess the most important, current news about our concluding speaker is that the voters of Minneapolis renewed his contract a week ago Tuesday. I think not only Minneapolis should be happy about this, but the rest of us as well.

Certainly, nowhere in the United States can you find a mayor who so well epitomizes the combination referred to in your program of citizen, scholar, and practitioner. I, for one, and I know all of you share this opinion. We are extremely grateful to him for stopping here en route home, so that he could be with us today and give this concluding address. I have known him, of course, as Professor of Political Science at the University of Minnesota, as Minneapolis' mayor since 1961, and also in connection with some consultant work he did for the Ford Foundation in their public affairs education program and in the work they are doing in the field of community development.

I have just come back from four months in England where the first assignment I had at Oxford was to attend a conference on urbanization and its impact upon the extramural programs of British universities. You cannot get away from it, not even over there. At the time, I thought they really needed Mayor Naftalin as a resource person. He gave a concluding address, which I consider to be a definitive statement that all of you ought to read, on the impact of urbanization on the role of universities and colleges as the big university meeting of the land-grant colleges last November. I took the liberty of distributing it to the conference in Oxford.

You know as well as I that he has many connections and many honors he has earned over the years, but I will not encroach upon his time by trying to recite all of them. I merely mentioned that he has recently been appointed by President Johnson to the National Advisory Council of the Office of Economic Opportunity. I think his skill and competence is needed in that post. We can congratulate you on this new assignment as well as welcome you here for the concluding address on what you'll have to admit is an open-ended topic - The Urban Future: Chaos or Order.

MAYOR NAFTALIN

Dean Sheats, Mrs. Loring and friends:

I have been greatly stimulated by this conference. I wish it were possible for me to leave at this moment, go away for about two days, put together all the relevant ideas and then return to speak. It might then be possible to lay out the directional course that Mrs. Loring has suggested that I set forth as a conference windup.

I am most grateful for this invitation. It has been, as I said, most stimulating and it tops off an exhilarating experience in Honolulu with the United States Conference of Mayors, where, as chairman of the convention resolutions committee, I dealt directly with many of the problems that you have been discussing here.

For a fleeting moment I thought, after Honolulu, that I was in command of some of the solutions to our problems, but, listening to the discussions here, it became clearer and clearer to me that the solutions are as elusive as ever. I came prepared with systematic analyses of our problems and with hard persuasive answers, but the longer I have listened the less certain I have become that I can provide meaningful answers in these remaining moments.

Therefore, I intend to share some prejudices and preferences of a mayor who sees the urban problems from the vantage point of the politically elected official.

Before I am through I will discuss the decision-making process, but, first, I should like to note that the public official is today surrounded by what I call "instant experts." For every problem that comes to my desk there is some determined citizen who has a quick, simple and effective answer. He is untroubled by complexity and oblivious to profound change. The quick answer that is no answer at all simply points up the painful fact that all of us in urban affairs are groping for solutions; we are seeking a body of cohesive theory to guide our decision-making. As the quest goes forth, we will no doubt better serve our purposes by not claiming too much by way of special insight. For a while we must be more descriptive and analytical and less prescriptive, and it is the former that I shall seek to be today.

One of the problems with discussions of urban affairs is the pervasive presence of cliches, obvious truisms and rather meaningless generalizations. Sometimes, in reading over what I have said about urban problems, I am shocked by my own disjointed and vague exhortations and by the lack of consistency and depth of analysis, reflecting again the absence of a body of useful theory for urban planning. We are not quite certain about what we are dealing with because our problems are as complex as the whole of human existence. We are talking not only about the human being as he relates to his habitat but as he relates to his entire milieu, to the forces that have shaped his character and personality and to the full sweep of history. We are talking about human beings and everything that has made them social beings. Because the problems are so numerous and so baffling we seek simple answers and in our frustration we strike wildly about.

As a result, one often finds in conferences like this what I call pervasive scapegoating for our failures to make better decisions; the architects blame the engineers; the planners blame the architects; the social critics blame the planners; the businessmen blame the social critics; the press blames the businessmen; and everybody blames the politician. We all blame each other. Each of us in an "instant expert" with perfect wisdon.

Even brief reflection makes it perfectly clear that insight into these problems is at best fragmented and that we need to find a way of joining our partial insights to achieve deep enough understanding for a course of action. Even a quick glance at urban affairs reveals the enormous fragmentation that is basically involved in the decision-making process. We see a multiplicity of governments; we see a rich variety, a rich pluralism of attitudes and concerns and a wide spectrum of clashing interests. The wonder of our system is not that it works so poorly, but that it works so well.

When you think of all the diversities involved in a metropolitan area, the wonder is that we have any kind of transportation system, that we have done anything to preserve our water supply or to achieve sanitation control. In my area, it is a little short of a miracle that we have accomplished so much in the way of renewal and rehabilitation, that we are moving--however hesitantly--towards a significant measure of social and physical reconstruction.

Basic to our lives is the great variety and richness of the modern community. In this variety, power is widely diffused and widely shared giving rise to a powerful contradiction between the expression of individual preference and the control of group action. When we talk about planning our way out of the urban mess we often develop what is essentially an undemocratic authoritarian scheme. We seek an arrangement within which to fit everyone for their own good. This, of course, is directly antithetical to the democratic idea, and this conflict is the heart of the urban problem. How do we bring together, in a democratic fashion, the fragmented elements of power so that we can reconcile our differences, arrive at decisions, and then implement those decisions with effective action?

There is a confusing and contradictory result of the continued development of industrialization and specialization of labor. These modern forces tend to spread people out horizontally and to fragment life and authority and to broaden the range of individual choices; yet, at the same time, the vary fragmentation and complexity requires a greatly enlarged measure of social control, which, in turn, requires a concentration of power. Thus, socially, we tend to become decentralized, while, politically, our need was toward greater centralization. This paradox is the central dilemma in our planning. By and by, as complexity increases ,the number of governmental units grows; there are more competing interests and power to make public decisions and to fashion needed programs becomes more diffused.

In the end, as a result of this fragmentation and complexity, we find the individual at war with his neighborhood, the neighborhood at war with the city, the city with the larger metropolitan area, the metropolitan area with the state, and the state with the national government. Our resolutions in Honolulu all reflected various aspects of these wars. We insisted that the suburbs recognize their responsibility to the core cities, that the state assume new responsibilities towards the municipalities and that the federal government set priorities that favor domestic concerns at least in equal measure to foreign involvements.

How did we happen to fall into this state? Why are we more or less at war with each other? The explanations are deeply imbedded in our traditions, in our legacy as a people who have been historically anti-government. We really don't believe much in government; we don't believe much in planning, in fact, we don't believe much in the city.

Historically we have sought, in every possible way, to prevent government from undertaking effective social planning. One could recite a long list of specific events that prove this point, beginning with our national constitution and including especially our state constitutions with their limitations on taxation and spending and their restrictions on local governments in the matter of annexations and consolidations. One could cite the refusal of state legislatures to permit local governments to exercise the authority needed to cope with their problems.

Many, for example, both Los Angeles and Minneapolis, have a large number of independent boards and commissions, requiring a long ballot and imposing short-terms to ensure rotation in office. These notions were built into our framework of government at an early period because we didn't want government to function and we have never changed our attitude. We did this at a time when the country was 95 percent agricultural, and we are now trying to make a system intended for a simple rural nation, serve the needs of a highly industrialized, highly urbanized, highly specialized society.

Today we wonder why we don't have the coordinating and planning mechanisms we need in government. In private enterprise it is perfectly clear to even the casual observer that its very strength is based on its capacity to coordinate the elements of production and distribution and to plan effectively. The success of the modern corporation is due to its size and its capacity to gather sufficient authority to plan, to research and to direct.

Yet we deny to our government this kind of authority, often claiming that such denial serves some greater good. In the end we don't have the planning we need or the proper use of our resources in the control of our critical problems.

Along with our anti-government attitude we have held the view that the city is a place to be rejected, that--unlike the pure and pristine countryside--

the city is the center of evil, graft, corruption, a place to be avoided and left to stew in its own putrid juices. Perhaps this attitude is beginning to reverse itself, as we talk more about the city as the center of vitality. Yet the exodus from central city to suburb goes on and the search for the rustic life, for open space, and for escape from the concerns of the community characterize the American quest. All of this reflects an anti-city bias. It dominates our government and our social thinking, preventing us from turning our full energies to the problems of the city.

Our anti-government and anti-city attitude go hand-in-hand with our historic emphasis on individualism, which we have extolled and glorified. Competition we regard as a high and positive value and we are suspicious of talk about cooperation or community endeavor.

Today this history of unconcern and indifference seriously complicates our efforts to cope with the problems of the central city. An overwhelming number of people, especially many with leadership capacity, have fled from the city and from responsibility. Comfortably situated in their spacious and isolated suburban dwellings, they spend their creative hours developing private fortunes and building great corporations or sometimes leading trade unions, in all cases enjoying the advantages of private life and denying their leadership to the metropolitan area.

In our efforts to cope with our urban problems I see as indispensable the reversing of these traditional attitudes. We will not launch the needed plans except as we acquire a new respect for the constructive uses of the democratic governmental process and a new interest in the positive values of the city.

Having said all this I should like to turn to what I think is the heart of this conference--and this is now decisions affecting urban policy are effectively made.

Every mayor asks himself these questions: "How can my community be persuaded to accept an idea that is in the city's long-term interest? How do we overcome specific resistance to particular plans? How do we get the labor movement and the business community and the city's governing body to support needed programs?" The key to new community programs is the integrating of all elements that are necessarily part of the decision-making process and these I see as including elected public officials, the political party, the press, the community's economic groups, the community's voluntary agencies, and, finally, educational institutions at all levels.

It has interested me that in conferences of this type political action is often never mentioned. It was mentioned here today, but I have attended week-long meetings at which the established order was fiercely assailed and demands for drastic action aggressively asserted, but, yet, surprisingly with no direct detailing of how such action might be accomplished. Criticism of existing institutions and exhaustive detailing of deficiencies do not constitute a program of action, however valid and persuasive our critical analysis may be.

In this time of great need for new forms of social action the role of politics requires special attention. We should see public officials for what they are; they are essentially responders rather than creators or innovators. We delude ourselves often by assuming that the election of particular individuals or the choice of one party over the other will by itself provide a new forward thrust. To be sure the more responsive and more creative the public official the better are the prospects for effective action, but the political leader is not likely to go any faster than the other community agencies will permit or support by way of action.

That is why I attach importance to the political party and here I mean not only the organized formal party agency but the mechanism of deliberate political support that advances and supports candidates for public office.

I believe the political party has been overlooked and misunderstood in municipal affairs. It remains a very primitive mechanism in our cities, with the two major parties often using their local units to advance state and national issues without concern for local needs. If effectively organized and led, the political party could become an important element in directing the forces for change.

Turning next to the press, I simply assert that the press becomes more important in community decision-making as time goes on. The more complex and fragmented the community becomes, the greater the need for agencies that bring some degree of coherence out of the welter of conflicting views, and this is what the press does, sometimes very badly and against a background of ignorance but there it is, day after day, providing the integrating function. If the press is indifferent to a need or program, it is almost a certainty that the needed action will not be forthcoming. A concerned press is not a guarantee of constructive action, but it is an indispensable first condition.

The force and strength of the major economic groups in decision-making are well understood, but I have had to learn repeatedly how important they really are, how strong are the ties between individuals and the economic groups that represent their basic interests.

For some years now the established economic interests have shown a decreasing interest in urban affairs. Their leaders--in both business and labor--have moved to the suburbs and they are caught up in the feverish expansion of their economic enterprise. They have had little time for urban affairs. Residing in the suburbs, spending much of their time on jet planes seeking world markets and new challenges, these men of natural leadership have turned their energies outward from the metropolitan centers, but I do not believe they are lost irretrievably to the future direction of our cities. In our Minneapolis-St. Paul area, for example, we have begun to rekindle their interest and they have been giving leadership to a movement towards responsible metropolitan government.

I believe that the decision-making process for cities must have the muscle and motive power that only the men of economic strength can provide. We must get the corporations and the men who lead them to recognize how vitally important for the future of their businesses are a system of education that helps every person become socially and economically productive and an anti-poverty program that reduces poverty on a massive scale. The business leadership must be roused to a new interest and a new assertion of political and community leadership.

At this point I should say a word about labor and its part in the decision-making process. Labor today is in the doldrums politically. It is suffering from an overdose of affluence. In recent years it has not been asserting leadership at the community level. It has been responding rather than innovating or leading. Like business, labor must come to understand that its future is also linked to a community that is meeting the social challenges effectively.

The role of voluntary organizations also needs to be better appreciated. Organizations such as neighborhood groups and community planning agencies bring new life to the decision-making process. In my time as mayor I have learned the value of citizen participation, the value of listening to people who are served by community programs, how they enrich the decision-making process.

The best way to involve people is through voluntary organizations, but these agencies need continuous evaluation and revitalization. They tend to become institutionalized and bureaucratized. They often become relaxed and turn to comfortable and safe courses and thus lose the force that could be so effective in supporting community programs. We all have seen the emergence of a new group with a determined course of action and, suddenly, it has the strength of a thousand horses. It quickly produces impressive results. I often think of the great strength that exists in every community in its service organizations, its fraternal and patriotic societies and its church groups, if each of them would devote even a fraction of their time to involving their members in programs genuinely aimed at dealing with significant community needs. What great energy and support that would represent!

In my view, higher education has a very special responsibility of training larger numbers of competent and qualified leaders for urban activities. The key to decision-making and program-building is well-trained staff. In communities in which there has been solid progress one finds effective staff. I know that the progress we have made in my city is directly related to the presence of professional staff with imaginative plans that fit our local circumstance.

It is the plan that galvanizes action. Once it is launched, the community's creative forces can be mobilized. The press can then provide its indispensable support. Stated another way, no amount of abstract theorizing will rally the community. To clean up the river, to construct housing for senior citizens, to get rid of a slum, to erect a multi-purpose neighborhood center--these require plans and the capacity to plan requires people with professional training, all of which argues for a larger expenditure for education. This is needed not only for higher education but for all of public education as well, if we are to have the flow of people prepared to give leadership and do the planning for our communities, and if the quality of the electorate is to be elevated so that there is a fuller appreciation of our urban problems.

Along with a commitment to education must come the related commitment to make the war against poverty a successful undertaking. Physical renewal is important in the saving of our cities, but it is important only to the extent that it serves social renewal.

There must also be greatly enlarged attention to public planning. We must recognize more fully that we live in an industrial society that makes large scale organization inevitable. We can bemoan it and regret it, but the fact is that our industry is nationalized and the people of this nation are dependent on national programs. We are not going to solve our problems of pollution and congestion unless we establish national standards and help local communities obtain the money they need to control these problems. For example, the problem of solid waste disposal requires massive research, enormous attention to technological applications and very extensive intergovernmental planning.

I welcome national programs and national standards for my area. I think it is constructive when the federal government tells us that we must approach our problems on a region-wide basis, that we must plan a transportation system not only for the City of Minneapolis but for the seven-county area of which we are a part, that we plan sewage disposal on a regional basis just as we do for airports. We should have the same approach in the field of public assistance as the federal government moves to provide for minimum national standards.

One of our national concerns must be a clearcut commitment to save our cities. We have had only beginnings in this critical area with our housing and renewal programs and now with the Model City legislation. But much more is needed. We need a commitment on the scale of our interstate highway or space programs.

Finally, beyond commitment is the need for massive governmental reform. We can have good planners and good support from community organizations, but we must also have governmental mechanisms that make the resolution of conflict possible. Local governments today are ineffective because they lack a structure and a process that facilitates decision-making. This, incidentally, is an aspect into which the federal government is stepping by requiring that there be some degree of coordination at least among local governments in the same region as a condition for receiving federal grants. The federal government under Title II of the Model Cities legislation requires that grant applications be reviewed by some kind of areawide body. Some cities complain loudly about this requirement but it nonetheless represents a step forward. It would, of course, be much better if the cities proceeded directly to refashion their governments to make them viable and bona fide with authority to tax and to plan and to govern.

It is perhaps not very graceful of me to say these things here in California, because this state has paid more attention to governmental reform than have almost all other states. Your legislature, for example, has set a pattern for the nation in the matter of providing adequate staff and resources. Jesse Unruh and others have properly sensed the need here. The basic fact remains, however, that state legislatures must liberate the cities and the metropolitan areas.

I should like to conclude with a note about the democratic process. As difficult as our problems are, we must not seek to circumvent the democratic process. We must, in fact, seek to strengthen it, and to do this we should develop greater party responsibility. This would give the people a more meaningful voice in the decision-making process and would provide mechanism through which they could work more effectively, which brings me to this final point: We are in trouble not because we don't have the wealth, not because we don't have good intentions, not because we don't know what our problems are, not because we aren't willing to tackle them in all their complexities, and not because we are not ultimately willing, even, to make sacrifices. We are in trouble because our mechanisms do not permit us to take the action we need and want to take. It isn't possible for leadership to emerge in our system to the degree that we must have it. It isn't possible for us to get the plans we need because the structure is not adequate to the challenge. Our survival, I believe, demands attention to the processes and mechanisms that make the democratic process workable. Our neglect of the political system may be the most serious deficiency of all.

I end with the hope that out of our dilemmas and frustrations there will arise new clarity and new insight that will move us closer to the kind of society that we all know is possible, if only we harness our great intellectual and material resources.

DEAN SHEATS

I think it is quite apparent to you Mr. Mayor, as it is to me, that your concluding address provided us with not only a summation to the conference but a statement of your own philosophy and beliefs as well. We appreciate your candor and frankness.

I am sorry that we cannot take you up on your offer to continue the conference with a discussion period, but I realize that we are past the closing hour. However, I would suggest as a substitute that those of you who have pressing questions come up to the platform. Our speaker is very approachable.

I will turn the podium back to our conference chairman after thanking Professor Bollens and our program consultants, who are listed on your program, for their assistance. It would not have been this kind of an excellent conference without the faculty and the outside consultants who helped us in bringing these resource people to you and in preparing what I consider to be an excellent set of background papers. I hope you will take advantage of them. Roz, conclude please.

Chairman: Mrs. Loring

I don't know if those of you who are new to our campus know or not, but this stage was originally built for a theatrical performance and I must say, Mayor Naftalin, while you did not intend to be dramatic, it was indeed a dramatic conclusion to our day and we thank you.

I've been listening all day, as I suspect you have, to see whether or not there is some common thread. One thing I have heard repeatedly is that we must learn to accept orderly chaos.

I wish to conclude by adding my thanks to those of Dean Sheats to our faculty and the members of the Extension planning committee. It is our hope that you – all of whom are decision-makers in our community will, by carrying on these discussions, bring the issues before the many concerned citizens in our metropolis.

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